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ABSTRACT

This report attempts to find out what America's 20th century new towns are currently doing about the arts. It explores answers to questions concerning the kinds of programs and facilities provided, effective ways to nurture the arts, new and interesting relationships between the arts and the schools, what these towns are learning from established towns and from one another, and the kinds of financial support available. Eight new towns were chosen to provide a fair sample as to stage of development, location, management, and attention to the arts. This report also relates experiences in other settings--small towns, big cities, and the suburbs--of programs, support, planning, and facilities that could be applicable to new towns. The document concludes with a checklist for new-town arts that reflects the study findings and recommendations for things new towns can do to help the arts flourish.
(Author/MLF)

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The place of the arts in new towns

A Report from Educational Facilities Laboratories

EA 005 617

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Foreword

Although the origins of this report sound complicated, the three groups that participated in it have interlocking interests and capabilities that make their involvement logical.

The report began in 1972 when the Architecture + Environmental Arts Program of the National Endowment for the Arts hosted a small group of new-town developers and arts planners and advocates to explore the place of arts in new-town planning. Under an NEA grant, Susan Seligson, a freelance writer, prepared a draft report of the meeting; her document became the first working paper for this report.

About the same time, Educational Facilities Laboratories was initiating a project on planning for education and related social services in new towns. That project still continues, developing information of interest to new-town planners, educators, and decision makers in related fields.

With these interests, it was natural for NEA and EFL to jointly fund a report in support of the arts in new towns. EFL took on responsibility for publication; it teamed up with the American Council for the Arts in Education and asked ACAE's director of research, Judy Murphy, to research and write the report.

Since new communities are still new, Mrs. Murphy's report does not present a complete history or case studies of all new-town arts programs and facilities. Instead, it reports the experiences, problems, and aspirations of persons involved in the arts in some new towns. Because neither new towns nor the arts exist in a vacuum, it also relates experiences in other settings—small towns, big cities, and the suburbs—of programs, support, planning, and facilities that could be applicable to new towns. Of course, there is an additional twist, because what is good for new towns might also be good for existing communities and existing arts groups across the country.

Therefore, it is the intention of all involved that the report will provide information and guidance for an audience larger than persons strictly associated with new towns.

EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES LABORATORIES

Introduction

A century ago, when prospectors found a mother lode that promised to make men rich, a new town would spring up instantly. Those isolated towns were unsanitary, overcrowded anarchies, but they usually had at least one place for the performing arts—saloons where dancing girls entertained the customers. Later, many new towns built opera houses to serve residents with newly acquired wealth and tastes. Meantime, other carefully planned communities—ranging from company towns to towns designed by social or religious reformers—were built; they and their many European models include the true progenitors of today's "new towns."

For the term "new town" has taken on a precise, specialized meaning. Such new towns do not spring up overnight. The planning involved is extensive and looks years ahead—encompassing social, as well as physical, structures. Various services and amenities are provided (from buses to day-care centers to churches). All new-town developers plan and build in stages—a given number of neighborhoods by a given date, with maximum projected structures, population, and industry figured for a date 15 or 20 years from the town's opening.

This report attempts to find out what America's twentieth-century new towns are currently doing about the arts. What kinds of programs and facilities are new towns providing? Are new towns finding effective ways to nurture the arts? Are they developing new and interesting relationships between the arts and the schools? Between the arts and the population at large? Are new towns learning from one another and from established communities? Are they setting the pace for the rest of the country? What could they be doing better? What should they be doing differently?

Before discussing the role of the arts, we have to determine what a new town is. In the language of today's urban planners, a "new town" is far more than a town that is new. It is a totally planned, complete community. Land use is a balance of residential, commercial, social, and open space; the population should reflect a region's ethnic and income-level mix; provision is made for education, health care, and other social services.

It is supposed to be a proving ground for new and better ways of doing old things, for improvisation to foster decent urban living. It is a community keyed to the future and not to the past.

Thus, a new town is far more than a particularly well-designed suburb—in fact, its geographic placement may not be suburban at all. It may be a development within an existing town (a "new town in-town"); it may be away from other urban areas ("free-standing"); it may be on the fringes of one or more urban areas—a "satellite" or a "peripheral" or a "growth center" town.

However, new towns all have one thing in common: the much-talked-of "mystique" of new-town development. It is compounded of the crass and the visionary (a word without pejorative overtones among professional new-towners) and is generally accepted as the drive—of altruism, egoism, eccentricity, what-you-will—that leads a developer into this wild, new field.

There is another, universal influence: money. New towns require vast amounts of front money (according to some informed estimates, well over $50 million for a good-sized community). Many private and corporate investors are interested in this social alternative to urban sprawl; some new towns are sponsored by government or private nonprofit organizations; federal guarantees are available.* But millions of dollars must be gathered and used wisely before a new town can hope to reach the break-even point, before it can be considered more than a subsidized way of life.

How are the arts faring amid such staggering economic and social forces? To find out, we looked at eight new towns that were chosen to provide a fair sample as to stage of development, location, management, attention to the arts, and the like. Of these, two—Riverton, N.Y. and Gananda, N.Y.—expect their first residents in 1973. Of the remainder, two—Reston, Va. and Columbia, Md.—predate Title VII, and one—Jamaica, in New York City—has not yet applied for such aid. The three others, all with Title VII backing—Jonathan and Cedar-Riverside, both in Minnesota, and Park Forest South, Ill.—are in early stages of development with only a fraction of their projected population.

However, new towns have no monopoly on the new (to put it mildly), and new-town developers and residents concerned with the well-being of the arts can profit from a close look at ventures offering illustrations of processes that have yielded good results. This report, therefore, includes a selection of provocative old-town examples.

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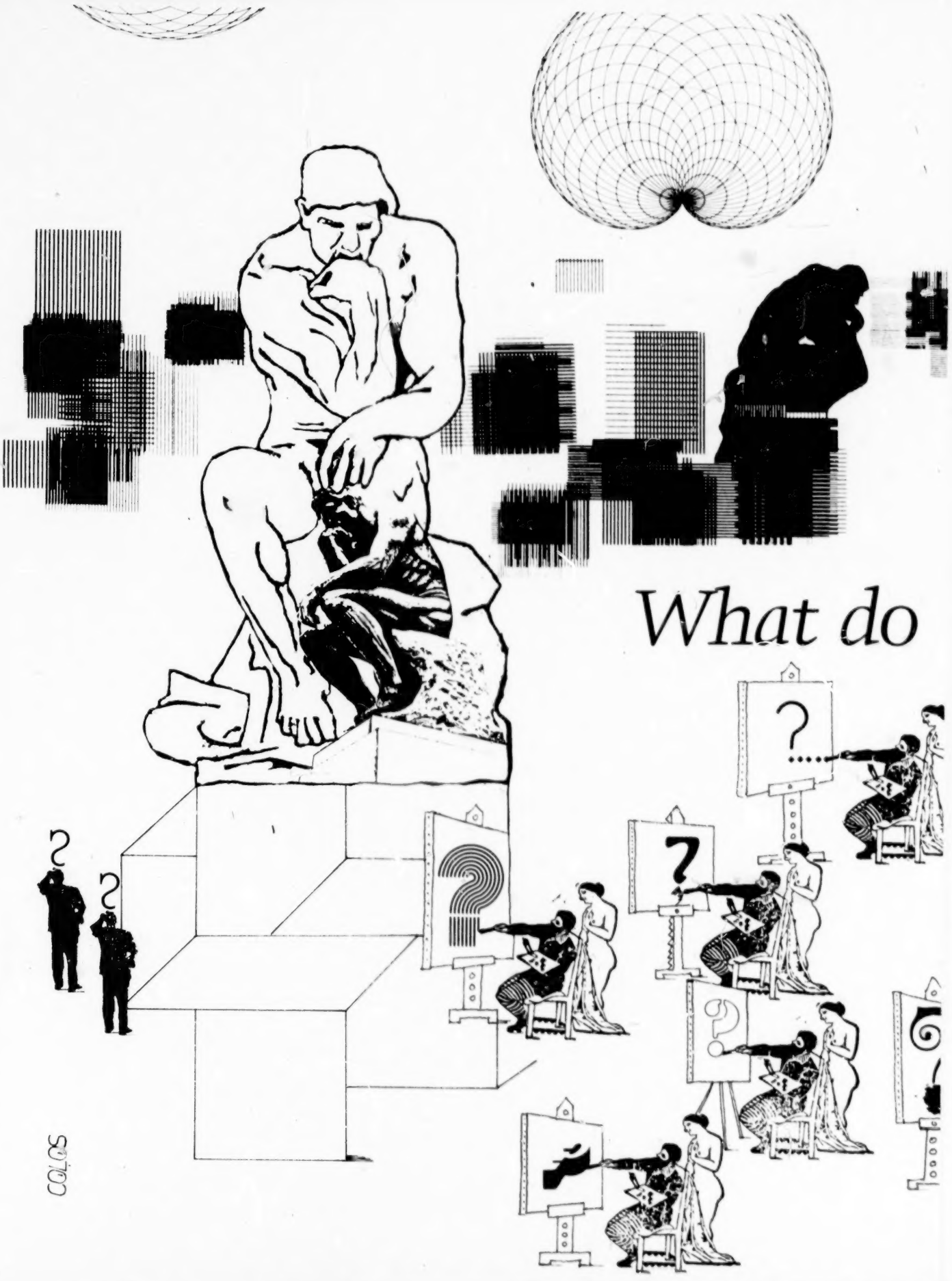
* Title VII of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1970, expanding on the New Communities Program authorized under the 1968 HUD Act, guarantees the developer's obligations up to $50 million for a single project, this enables him to get financing on favorable terms. For private developers the guarantee covers up to 80 percent of the predevelopment value of land and 90 percent of the development costs.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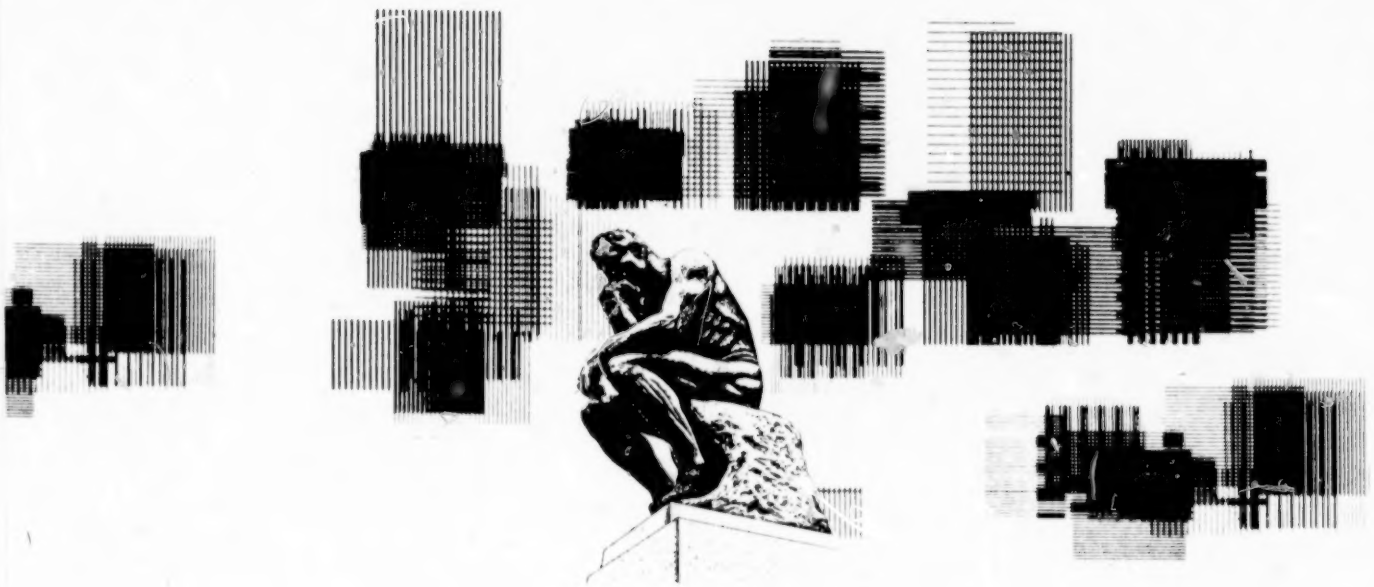

you mean by "arts"?

The definition of the "arts" is surely wider than a church door since it admits everything from preschool fingerpainting through school programs in esthetics or dance, through housewifely pot-throwing and one-man leather crafting to money-making rock concerts to the reaches of "high" art in ballet and symphony. Because of the stress placed on the design, landscaping, architecture, and public amenities of new towns, it is hardly remarkable if some developers seem to consider they have fulfilled their commitment to "the arts" by painstaking attention to the shape and looks of the town itself.

And what distinctions should be drawn among "art" and "entertainment" and "recreation"? As one HUD official concerned with new communities has said: "It's hard for the federal government, planners, or residents to draw the line between recreation and culture. What is car repair to one might be recreation for another."

A major difficulty in assessing new towns' arts programs and spaces lies in this extravagance of interpretations. It is all very well to proclaim that art is a continuum which should include all these interpretations and more, and that one source of America's esthetic anemia has been the arbitrary distinctions commonly drawn between amateur and professional, between popular and classical, between the grass roots arts of Appalachia or Harlem and the fine arts which academe and the Establishment have stamped "Ap-

proved." But the distinctions exist, like it or not, and account for some of the confusion that surrounds the provision for the arts in new towns.

New-town entrepreneurs may find a practical answer to the dilemmas of what-is-art and of economics by noting the extraordinary upsurge all over the country, indeed all over the world, of what is generally called "community arts" (for want of a better name). The term has been used for decades to denote simply "nonprofessional" arts—"little theatre," college glee clubs, high school orchestras, Sunday painters, and so on. But the past few years have seen hundreds of high caliber groups spring up in many communities, including the multitude of communities that comprise big cities.

This development has been most spectacular in the inner cities, among ethnic minorities, but it is by no means confined to "ghetto" or "poverty" arts. There is nothing amateur about these productions, except perhaps their budgets. Some of the best publicized are presented in New York City's Off-Off-Broadway Theatre, where audiences and critics are finding a vitality and originality often missing on Broadway. Greater Los Angeles has hundreds of such groups active in all art forms, some of them bringing out of the ghettos and barrios works of impressive talent and force. Other cities big and not-so-big are experiencing the same phenomenon, in all the arts, visual as well as performing.

Nor is the development exclusively urban. Witness Luis Valdez' Teatro Campesino that evolved from the Delano grapepickers' strike in 1965 and is now touring the country with stirring revolutionary productions about Chicano life and culture.

Not directly related to this manifestation, but broadly complementing it, is the widening disaffection with mammoth cultural complexes (which are often copied in miniature in new-town plans). In 1971, Wolf von Eckardt, *The Washington Post*'s architecture critic, foresaw the end of such centers. "It appears," he wrote in *The New Republic*, "we will take culture in smaller, more humble doses and will spread its blessing and buildings around the city, closer to where the people are." His widely shared view is based on economic, as well as humane and esthetic considerations; a recent survey showed that Milwaukee's center is the only one in the country that breaks even—every other one loses from $500,000 to $2 million annually exclusive of bond costs.

Yet the lust for the monumental dies hard. San Francisco is in the midst of a full-blown fight over an official proposal for a multi-million-dollar performing arts center. (Mayor Alioto, the *San Francisco Bay Guardian* observed, "has an eye for the Edifice," that would create a "cultural Candlestick Park—the wrong building, in the wrong place, at the wrong time, built for the wrong reasons.") Local artists are opposing the plan through the Community Coalition for the Arts. As one actor put it: "There are artists in San Francisco who are professionals but who want to maintain their community involvement. They want to keep their art on a human scale." Like his colleagues, he deplores the tendency for business support to go into building, leaving little for art itself. "Real art can be performed almost anywhere there's space—in bars, in old theatres."

The alternatives—buildings or art—are not quite that simple. But the logic is compelling in its emphasis on what architect Peter Blake calls "nonbuildings"—the "movement of art out into the environment at large—murals and poetry appearing on the side of tene-

ments, theatre playing in unlikely buildings and spaces, photography and film making relying heavily on the familiar environment, playground sculpture taking form from the junk of empty lots."*

There are promising signs of this kind of thinking in several new towns. Cedar-Riverside is making ingenious use of its riches of inner-city "found space." (In fact, there are problems in keeping up these spaces and allocating them among groups competing for their use.) Columbia's chief planner, Morton Hoppenfeld, reports that a clutch of experts recently "were infatuated with the Mall as a resource" and stressed the need to bring art where the people are. (See box.)

This advice should be followed by new towns since one of their roles is to encourage the arts—not because they are "good for us," or good for society, though they indubitably are—but because they provide a special, natural way for people to get in touch with themselves, to express what cannot otherwise be expressed, and to get more satisfaction about being alive. For people to experience this order of aliveness ("esthetic" is the standard term for it), they must develop their senses and awareness, starting as early as possible. So why don't new towns encourage the natural alliance –some would say "identity"—between art and education? New towns, presumably, are trying to provide a framework that will make life more satisfying, more endurable. One person painting, groups singing, dancing, putting on plays, the opportunity to become a perceptive auditor as well as a participant—these could be ways for new towns to become what they purport to be.

Arts: the people's preference

The myth that the general public has little use for the arts was shattered by a 1973 survey in New York State. It found "a real thirst for more access to a wide variety of cultural activities . . . at every socio-economic level." More than 80% of the sample feel the arts are important to life (even if they have little contact with them); nearly half attend performances or museums frequently or participate in at least one art form. According to the preferences expressed in the survey

The public want cultural facilities in their home neighborhoods. More people feel it is important for a community to have a good theatre (26%) than a sports stadium (17%). Another desired facility is an arts and crafts workshop, particularly wanted by the elderly and less affluent. The concept of neighborhood (or easy access) broadens sharply with education and affluence; thus, 51% of New York City residents feel they have insufficient access to cultural activities—a larger percentage than of upstate residents.

One-third of the public feel that not having enough cultural facilities available ranks as a major problem. This concern was listed ahead of such highly publicized issues as poor housing and poor schools.

There is a direct correlation between early exposure to the arts and current interest in them. For example, 13% of all those interviewed went to art museums often as children, but 32% of today's frequent museum-goers did so.

The public wants more arts courses taught for credit and included in the core curriculum (as high as 78% depending on the specific course). Teenagers show relative disinterest in culture-centered trips but respond even more enthusiastically than their elders to creative activities courses for credit. (In general, they show a positive attitude toward the arts; it's those school trips that get them.)

People want and obtain artistic satisfaction from a broad range of activities. Many of the answers regarding favorite leisure-time pursuits struck "a strong note of basic functional esthetics."

This New York State survey was taken by the National Research Center of the Arts (an affiliate of Louis Harris and Associates, Inc.) for the American Council for the Arts in Education, with funds from the New York State Council on the Arts. The NRCA has conducted a similar national survey for Associated Councils of the Arts, which will publish the results in late 1973.

* *Cultural Affairs*, May, 1971.

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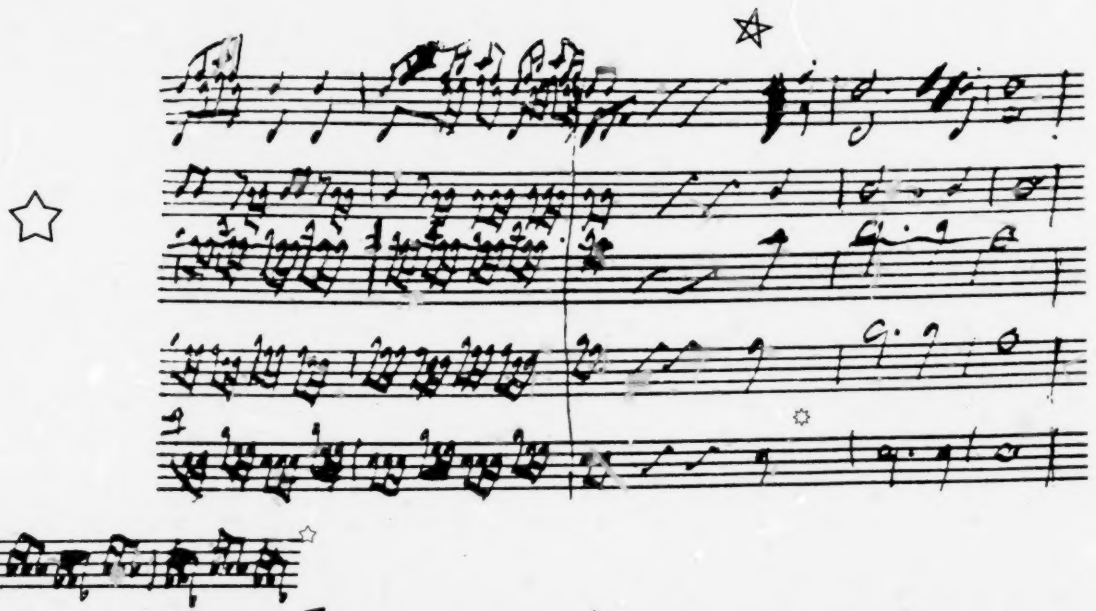


one, you haven't seen 'em all

In successful arts programs, the critical elements overlap and meld in various combinations. Everywhere the arts require central leadership, community initiative and involvement, adequate support (financial and otherwise), integration with other aspects of life and with other organizations (especially the formal educational system), and the imaginative and flexible use of space. Chronologically, a single factor may stand out as the catalyst: an available building, an enlightened civic or school administration, a charismatic person.

An important ingredient distinguishing one new town from another and markedly influencing the arts is the mind-set of the developer: indeed, his vision of what is to be and the kind of staff and advisers he selects critically affect every aspect of the evolving community. And so does his financial setup, and his own experience and background, not to mention economic influences outside his control. A few examples.

The glamour boys of new-town development are Robert Simon and Lewis Manilow. Simon, who is now developing Riverton, N.Y., was once the prime mover in Reston. Manilow is president of New Communities Enterprises, which is developing Park Forest South. Both are art enthusiasts and collectors, fond of massive outdoor sculpture (which also happens to be one of the few art forms the federal housing and urban development establishment has a handle on). They are also both onetime colleagues of fathers who

gained fortune and fame in well-designed real estate. Nathan Manilow was treasurer of the development firm, headed by Philip Klutznick, that built Park Forest; Manilow had conceived Park Forest South before his recent death. Robert Simon, Sr., had an interest in America's first garden city, Radburn, N.J., and his diverse real estate holdings included New York City's Carnegie Hall.

Details of the arts in Riverton and Park Forest South appear later in this report. But to the extent that the individual developer influences the arts, Simon rates a closer look here since he is one of a kind: a developer with a record, one who has embarked on his second new town.

Back in the early sixties, Simon conceived Reston as exemplifying, among other things, his own cultivated taste, humane inclinations, and the best talent money could buy. Reston today bears his mark—in the pastel town houses overlooking Lake Anne, in the play sculptures of concrete and wood created by an artist-in-residence, in the pathways and pedestrian underpasses. But five years after Reston's start, Simon had to pull out because of a tight money market and other difficulties. Control went to his coinvestor, Gulf Oil Corporation.

The town is now operating in the black; some knowledgeable observers think that its success is partially due to the early outlays for design and amenities. Among the oldest inhabitants, including some who have kept community arts groups alive with scant help from the developer's office, there are those who look back nostalgically to the Simon days. There were plans, for example, for a structure that would provide studio spaces for painting, ceramics, dancing. "Start with a multipurpose building," Simon has said about this plan, which was never realized. "Then see which way the people want to go." According to him, there was no immediate plan for a theatre, but Reston arts people seem to feel had Simon stayed they'd have one now.

James Rouse, Columbia's developer, may be the most widely respected of new-town entrepreneurs. To the building of Columbia he brought years of solid experience in urban development. (Columbia, like Reston, is already producing a positive cash flow.) Unlike Simon and Manilow, Rouse apparently brought to the creation of Columbia no particular personal involvement with the arts, but rather a conviction of their importance in revitalizing urban life. Even as the first settlers were arriving, Rouse embodied this conviction in a number of ambitious actions to expose Columbia to big-city, high-quality arts. The results were generally disappointing, but today the town is taking a fresh look at the arts and there is evidence that it will take lessons from past mishaps.

Tax shelter sparks new town

Some developers of the current crop of new towns plunged into their infinitely complex enterprises with virtually no real estate or building experience at all.

Notable instances are the two Minnesota communities: Cedar-Riverside, within Minneapolis, and Jonathan, 20 miles away. At first, Henry McKnight constituted a link: he was the chairman of Cedar-Riverside's board of directors (where he also provided capital),

and developer and chief stockholder of Jonathan. But McKnight died suddenly late in 1972, precipitating important changes in Jonathan's management.

McKnight's only real estate experience before entering "new-towning" was managing his family's extensive properties. He had also been a state senator, with a special concern for protecting the environment, and was a leading patron of Minneapolis art and music organizations. But he got caught up in the new-town mystique, to which he applied his own considerable wealth and the backing of wealthy associates. He seemed committed to making the arts, including experimental architecture, an integral part of Jonathan.

Cedar-Riverside's codevelopers had the least experience to prepare them for "new-towning," but their plans and procedures have been impressive. It all began when Gloria Segal, a gifted and energetic housewife, decided to make a modest tax-shelter investment in a building or two in a rundown section of Minneapolis near Cedar Avenue. Her partner was Keith Heller, then assistant to the dean of the School of Business Administration, University of Minnesota. One thing led to another, and, to grossly compress matters, Heller-Segal incorporated as Cedar-Riverside Associates (CRA) and got a much-needed infusion of capital from the late Henry McKnight and others. They pieced together about 100 acres for Title VII redevelopment. (The area also includes urban renewal sections and the new West Bank campus of the enormous University of Minnesota.)

Cedar-Riverside's record thus far in fostering and planning for the arts is outstanding, thanks in good measure to Mrs. Segal's forehandedness and unflagging support. Some of the other reasons owe no thanks to the developer, notably the new town's share in the extraordinary artistic vitality of the Twin Cities.

Within Cedar-Riverside's own boundaries is a first-rate array of small enterprises that stress the experimental, including an opera company, a dinner-theatre featuring satire, a theatre-in-the-round, two dance companies, a music school, and a film club. These performing arts groups are mostly professional and draw their audience from the whole metropolitan area.

Contrary to the general impression, Cedar-Riverside Associates did not begin with this enviable complement of arts enterprises. Except for one of the dance companies, which had contracted for space before the developer appeared, all the others were actively wooed to the area by Mrs. Segal's offer of adequate space at low rentals. (One reason, which she herself stresses, for this ability to exceed the efforts of most new-town developers in promotion of the arts is CRA's tax-shelter base. Because Cedar-Riverside can afford to operate at a small loss, it can subsidize rents and the like for the arts and other social services, even though the developer's budget cannot encompass heavy costs for arts construction and rehabilitation.)

None of these pluses should imply that there are only clear days ahead for the arts groups in Cedar-Riverside. Their directors and supporters are uneasy about the future; they are also hungry right now for space—primarily an appropriately designed and adequate performing arts space. But there seems little justification for arts groups to gripe about what CRA has done thus far nor to resent the developer's exploitation of arts components as a "marketing tool." Rather, it should be welcomed as an encouraging omen.

First things first: the new-town development process and the arts

Promotional literature for new towns bristles with prose and pictures of the "good life"; tennis, golf, fishing, etc. The emphasis on sports is needed because new towns have to compete with other developments that offer similar recreational attractions. Arts, unfortunately, run second best to sports although a developer who wants to receive a Title VII guarantee is expected to provide, or make possible the provision of, a whole array of community amenities, primarily by making proper spaces available. (The language in many HUD contracts is somewhat vague in this area, but Cedar-Riverside provides a notable exception because it names the arts groups and spells out quite specifically the developer's intentions.)

There are some community components, such as schools, that have to be given priority. The difficulties of planning schools for towns-to-be are prodigious, as Evans Clinchy's study "New Towns, New Schools?" makes clear.* But here at least developers are coping with something tangible and, moreover, unquestioned: there have to be schools.

The arts, on the other hand, are hard to pinpoint, there is no generally accepted definition, their influence is diffuse, and they are still not a fully public responsibility. And, though the arts need spaces, the kinds of spaces are up for grabs, even among arts people. Should developers, if they can, provide studios, workshop areas, space for performances (and what kind of performances: plays, string quartets, dance ensembles?), or loft-like spaces that can be used by all kinds of arts programs? What role, if any, should the developer take in the *what* of art as against the *where*? Is it his place to provide leadership, promote participation, suggest programs in or out of school, import professionals?

By 1973, planners of most satellite or fringe new towns had pretty much settled for giving a hand, if asked, to avocational arts with considerable variation in the muscle they applied to their own role of sponsor or facilitator. Experience in some of the older new towns suggests some of their reasons. They could adduce convincing and even edifying reasons for their choice, too.

For example, look at what happened in Columbia. When James Rouse accepted Mrs. Merriweather Post's offer of a $1-million pavilion for his new town, he evidently thought her gift would pay off artistically as well as economically; he donated the land, put up an additional $300,000, and took on the responsibility for maintenance. Envisioned, doubtless, was a southern Tanglewood, drawing music-lovers from miles around. But after a few seasons, the dream of making this the summer home of the Washington National Symphony evaporated in a maze of misunderstandings and unforeseen expenses. Succeeding seasons of rock concerts and the like, while they made money for their promoters, generated the usual unsavory by-products for Columbia and its managers. The handsome pavilion in its sylvan setting now stands imprisoned behind a maximum security fence. The symphony rarely performs. There is a full summer schedule, almost entirely pop. The pavilion's operating deficit is now over $1 million.

Several other Columbia experiments also produced discouraging results. Rouse wanted

* Working Paper No. 1, November, 1972, The Education in New Communities Project, Educational Facilities Laboratories, New York.

outstanding, established arts institutions in Washington and Baltimore to come to his new town. He persuaded the Corcoran Gallery to open an art school in a farmhouse; the Peabody Conservatory, Baltimore's leading music school, to start a branch in an old mansion near the town's center; and the Maryland School of Dance to begin classes. In addition, Antioch College, that embattled citadel of progressive higher education in Yellow Springs, Ohio, opened a Columbia branch, which eventually enrolled more than 200 students. Today, except for Antioch, all these institutions have left Columbia. Even Antioch has fewer than 100 students left, since the college shifted most programs—including a promising venture based on the arts—to Baltimore and Washington.

Too much, too soon? That is the prevailing explanation, which James Rouse shares, along with the fact that the parent institutions were having unrelated problems "downtown." Some knowing Columbians suggest another explanation: some, if not all, of the parent institutions short-changed their branches in staff and equipment, failed to promote themselves effectively, and were also short-changed by the developer who offered no promotional backup and, by giving them shoddy space in obscure locations, denied them essential "visibility."

Columbia's reach, one might say, exceeded its grasp, but it did reach. Reston took fewer chances. For a while, starting in 1964, there was the Reston Music Center (later renamed the Northern Virginia Music Center at Reston), which operated a summer institute for as many as 200 young musicians. But in 1973 the center—its students down to a few dozen and its economy out of hand—left Reston. Reston has had the luck to have a successful pavilion, Wolf Trap Farm Park for the Performing Arts, a few miles outside the town boundaries. The pavilion is in a fine wooded setting where for three summers a distinguished, diversified series of musical and dance programs has been drawing crowds from the entire Washington area. Wolf Trap is a successful example of private and governmental cooperation in the arts: the nonprofit Wolf Trap Foundation assumes programming costs and the National Park Service meets upkeep and other costs. The latter sponsors an Enrichment Program whose goal is to introduce young people to the arts through one- or two-day programs on ballet, symphony, opera, etc.

The community arts scenes in Columbia and Reston have emerged with certain (if superficial) similarities. Columbia has four drama groups, plus a dinner theatre that makes money, two community chorales, two ballet schools, a group that imports the Baltimore Symphony for a series of concerts, various informal neighborhood groups and ensembles, a small art gallery, a film society, an artists' cooperative, and arts and crafts workshops in the three village centers.

Columbia has two colleges besides Antioch—Howard Community College, with more than 2,000 students, and the new Dag Hammarskjold International College, with a few hundred. They book professional performances, and their faculty and students take part in community programs. Nothing daunted by the past, one enthusiast is trying to start a resident ballet company, and a group is trying to establish a symphony orchestra.

Reston has nine commercial dance studios and a well-regarded drama group, which puts on three plays a year under professional direction. Other ad hoc groups put on

shows from time to time. A local variation on the Antioch operation is an extension division of Virginia Polytechnic Institute, which has a small number of students studying new-town design and development in a converted farmhouse. With the departure of the Music Center, two principal musical groups remain: The Reston Chamber Orchestra, with about 25 members, mostly nonresidents, and The Reston Chorale, composed almost entirely of residents.

There is also a small art gallery, occupying space designated for this purpose in Reston's first highrise apartment building, and operating with distinction, hope, and no profit. (Onetime art classes had to be abandoned to make room for much-needed storage space.) The Reston chapter of the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, which works out of the art gallery and sponsors exhibits there, also operates an artmobile. And there is the springtime Reston Festival along the lake, with all the performing and visual arts groups represented.

Black Focus, Reston's principal black group, puts on a lively Black Arts Festival each fall, including jazz, drama, and art exhibits; the festival, aided by a National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) grant, features professional talent from Washington and elsewhere.

Despite similar artistic activities, Columbia and Reston have different approaches to their endeavors. One has to do with money and the extent of developer help. And this in turn reflects the attitude of the developer—or the way this attitude is perceived by the town's artists and arts supporters. In Columbia, despite all the false starts and the feeling that the town could help the arts more, there is a sense of movement upward, of growing conviction on the part of the developer and his staff that more should and will be done. There is also a great deal of community participation. In Reston, on the other hand, there is a sense of stasis, of the futility of fighting—or even trying to interest—City Hall. (It is only fair to add that Restonites compensate in part by the degree to which volunteers will work their heads off.)

So far, the developers of most other new towns pretty much reflect the lessons they draw from these two prototypes. (Columbia provides a cautionary example, Reston a practical model.) With exceptions to be noted, the approach is: let's encourage community arts along as their proponents appear on the scene, let's help a bit with facilities, but let's steer clear of giant enterprises that turn into white elephants, and let's count up to ten before we entice any big-town museum or orchestra to join us.

In the case of Jonathan, the reasoning has already seemed to make economic sense. Jonathan's developers wanted to summer the Minnesota Orchestra in one of its bosky dells; the plan aborted in the face of intractable economic and management problems.

New-towners devoted to the arts sometimes distinguish between developers according to whether their commitment to the fledgling community is "long-term" or "short-term." In this view, attention to the new town's spiritual or artistic amenities—its architecture, arts, the reforms in education it's willing to fight for—will pay off in the long run, economically and otherwise. But, they argue, the developer of limited vision, by gearing his marketing to what one of these critics calls the "hearth and home crowd," can cut costs, garner profits for himself and his fellow investors sooner rather than later, and settle for just "another supersubdivision."

Tampa's classic multiplier effect

The importance of phased integration is well understood with respect to the overall physical planning of new towns, but it has not been adequately practiced in "social" or "community" planning (which, in newtownese, includes arts planning). The omission is particularly felt in the arts, which tend to generate a multiplier effect. Developers should exploit this tendency, doing what they can to set this organic process in motion.

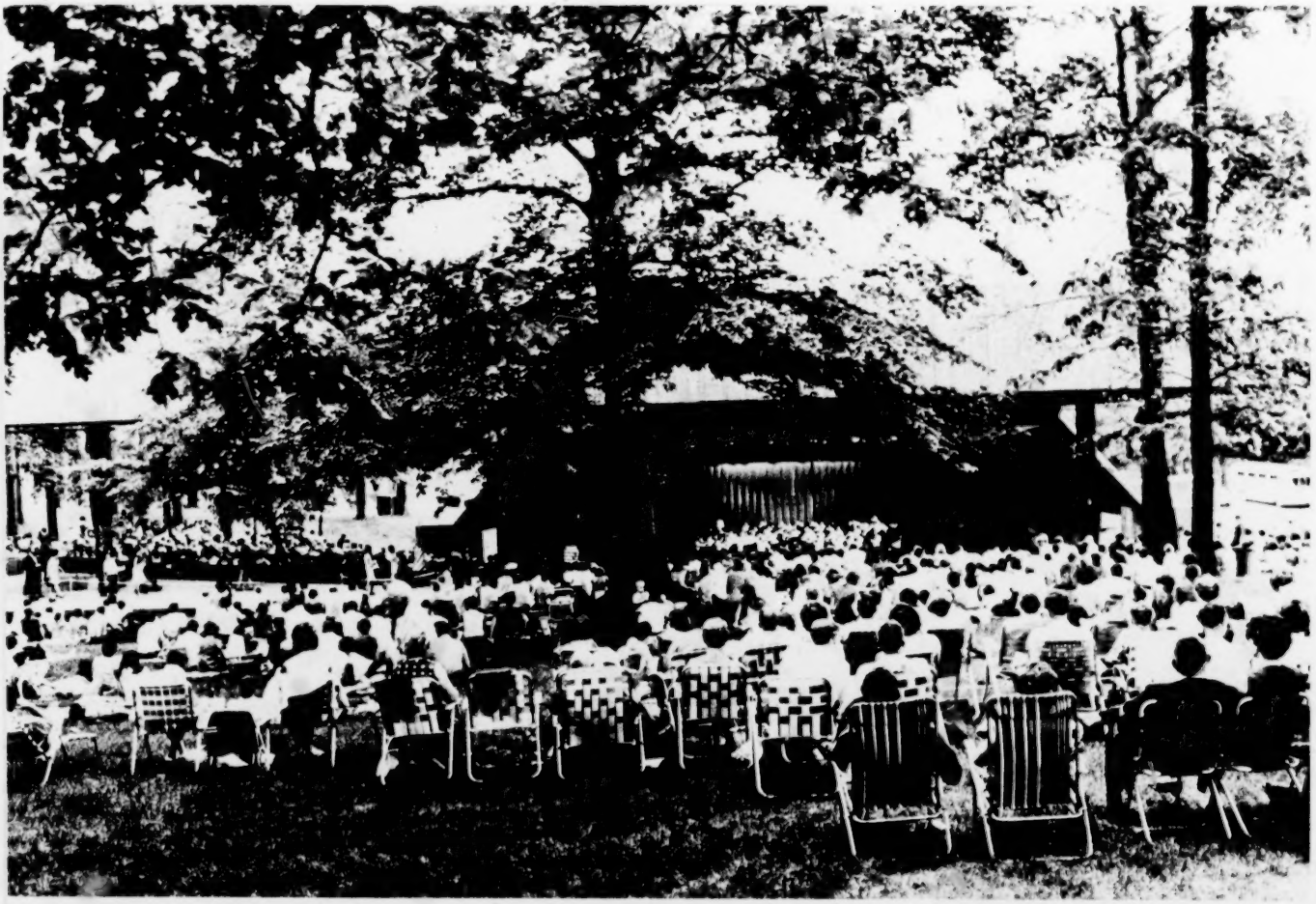
This multiplier effect can work in various ways. Children caught up in a neighborhood program may draw in their parents and other adults (as participants or as patrons). Individual organizations may combine talents and energy to put on a community festival. Work begun in someone's garage may form the basis for sales cooperatives. Something that starts with improving arts for school children can burgeon into programs reaching deep into the community. (This last could be a particularly good chance for new towns. Exerting whatever influence they can, leaders—and at first this means the development office and its planners—should try to bring about a union of the arts with the schools. For whatever the budget constraints, there is always money to keep schools operating, and new towns could capitalize on their signal opportunity to fashion a school/arts system.)

One example of this multiplier effect occurred in an old community, but the technique could equally well be applied to a new town. The process started some years ago, when Professor Richard Loveless, of the University of South Florida, gave inexpensive cameras to a group of youths in a low-income Tampa neighborhood, and after a quick lesson or two had them photograph whatever interested them. They also developed their own pictures. Then the professor got a few tape recorders and suggested that the youngsters use them as they had the cameras. The result was a series of recordings and photographs that give an unusually fresh view of both the children and their city. A Tampa community organization made a small grant that enabled Loveless to expand into new areas—graphic arts, theatre, film making, and, later, music. These projects attracted more children and more funds. A local foundation that had never before contributed to the arts made a $10,000 grant; the Tampa United Methodist Center, the Tampa Model Cities Agency, and the university all began to participate.

When the project—by now called The New Place—needed space, they got an old church. They put in a dance floor where the pews used to be, created a small theatre from the pulpit and altar, made an art gallery of the foyer and balcony, and used their graphics workshop to decorate the church. With new contributions—including $73,000 over a three-year period from Title I of the Higher Education Act and an additional $25,000 from the University of South Florida—they put an electronic composing studio in the building next door. Soon they had a fully equipped music lab with electronic pianos. Now they're starting a video studio and video bank. Today, with seven fulltime artists-in-residence, several hundred youngsters are part of an exceptionally diversified arts program.

Early in 1973 The New Place was turned over to the community and is being run by a 15-member community board, most of whom are from the area's minority groups.

Wilde Lake Village Green, above, and The Mall, below, Columbia, Md.



Merriweather Post Pavilion, Columbia, Md.

Arts in new towns

A new town provides a rare opportunity to integrate all forms of the arts into the fabric of the town. The integration should occur throughout the town because a central cultural palace, however big, won't be adequate.

The quality of the artistic life of a new town, and certainly the attitude and encouragement of the developers and planners, will be expressed in many physical ways. Very often the expression

Columbia

Jonathan, Minn.

Kittamaqundi Plaza, Columbia.

requires little money but a large amount of creative thinking and planning. Once the tone is set by those responsible for the physical quality of the new town, the onus for furthering the visibility of the arts will be shared by the park board, librarian, the deacon and elder, superintendent of schools, president of the PTA, college administrator, the merchants and businessmen.

There are opportunities galore to provide well-designed malls, landscaping, street furniture and outdoor wall paintings and sculpture. Paintings and crafts can be displayed out of doors in pedestrian malls and landscaped courts, music and drama can be performed in and around a pavilion or shed, and even a neighborhood playground can be a work of art instead of a swing set and teetertotter.

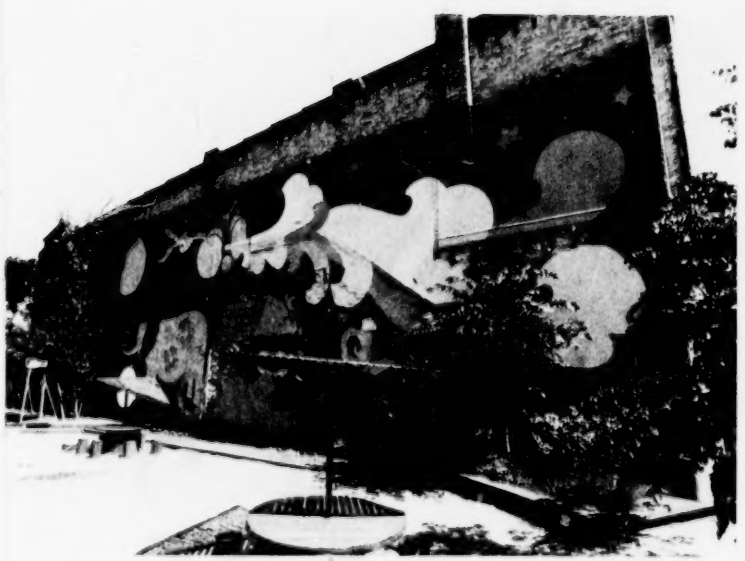
An enclosed shopping mall will quite naturally become a town center. It should have a high quality environment that provides varied opportunities for art displays, performing groups, and informal happenings. And when outside exhibits are needed, the shopping mall's parking lot can accommodate a visiting art mobile.

New towns built within existing cities can demonstrate evidence of the arts in all of these ways and also through the conversion of found spaces and sensitive street and circulation designs to ameliorate the hard edges of the existing city.

Park Forest South, Ill.

Art Resources Traveler, State of Illinois

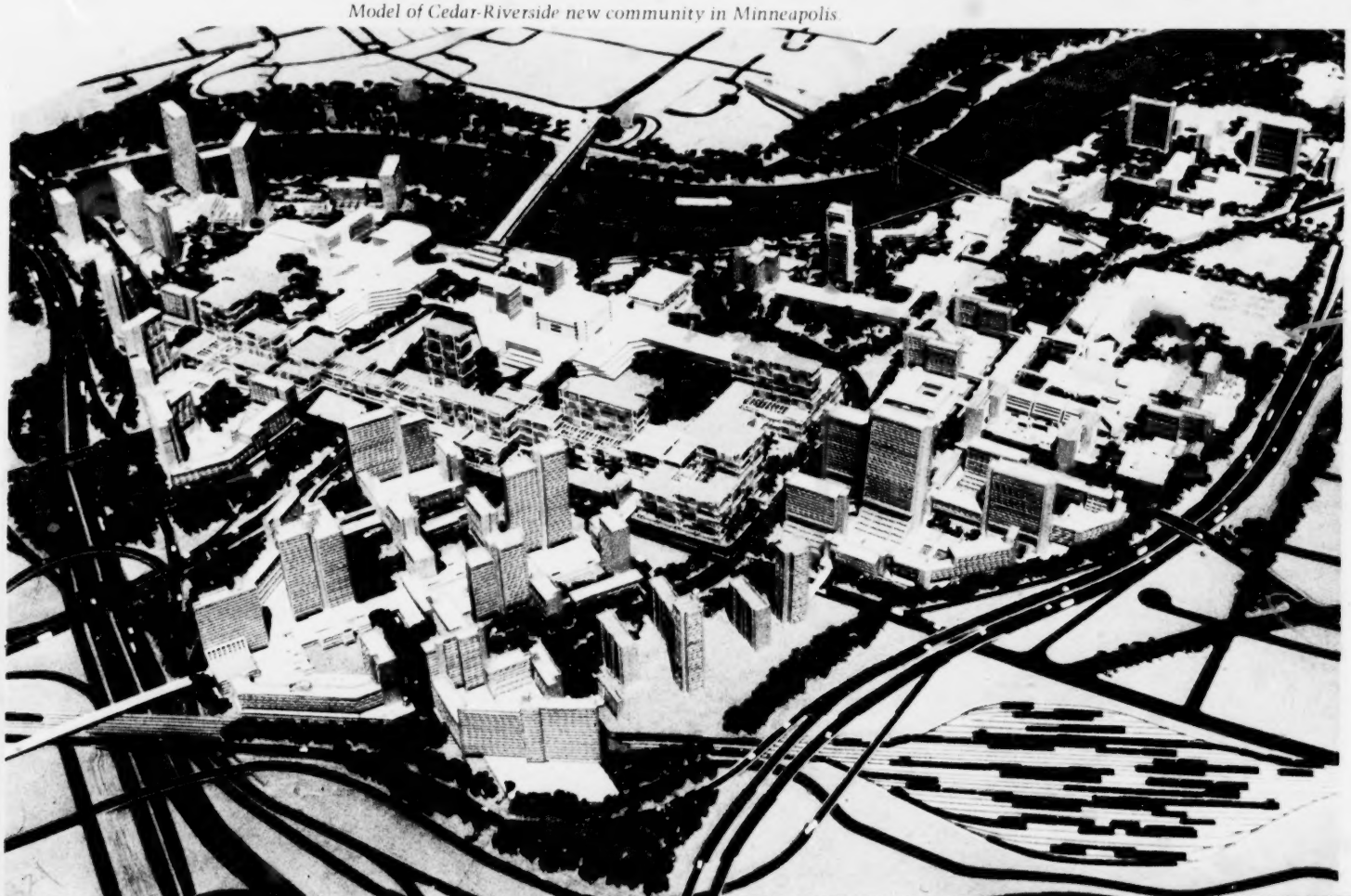
127 John Street, New York, N.Y.

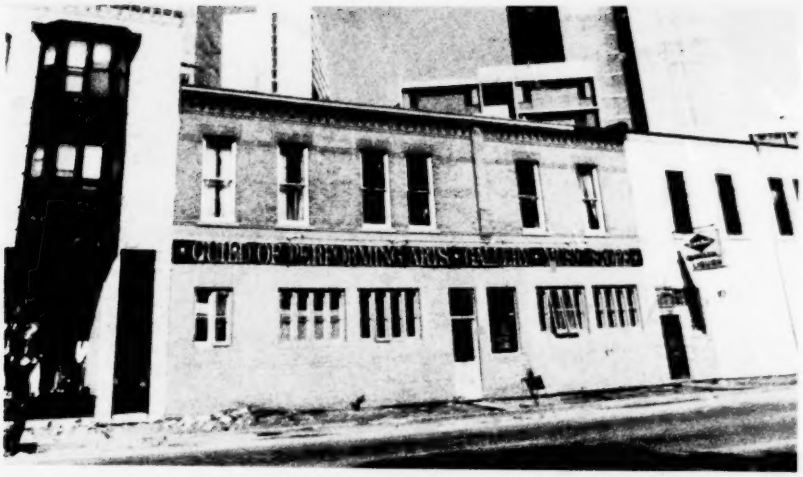


Cedar-Riverside, Minn.

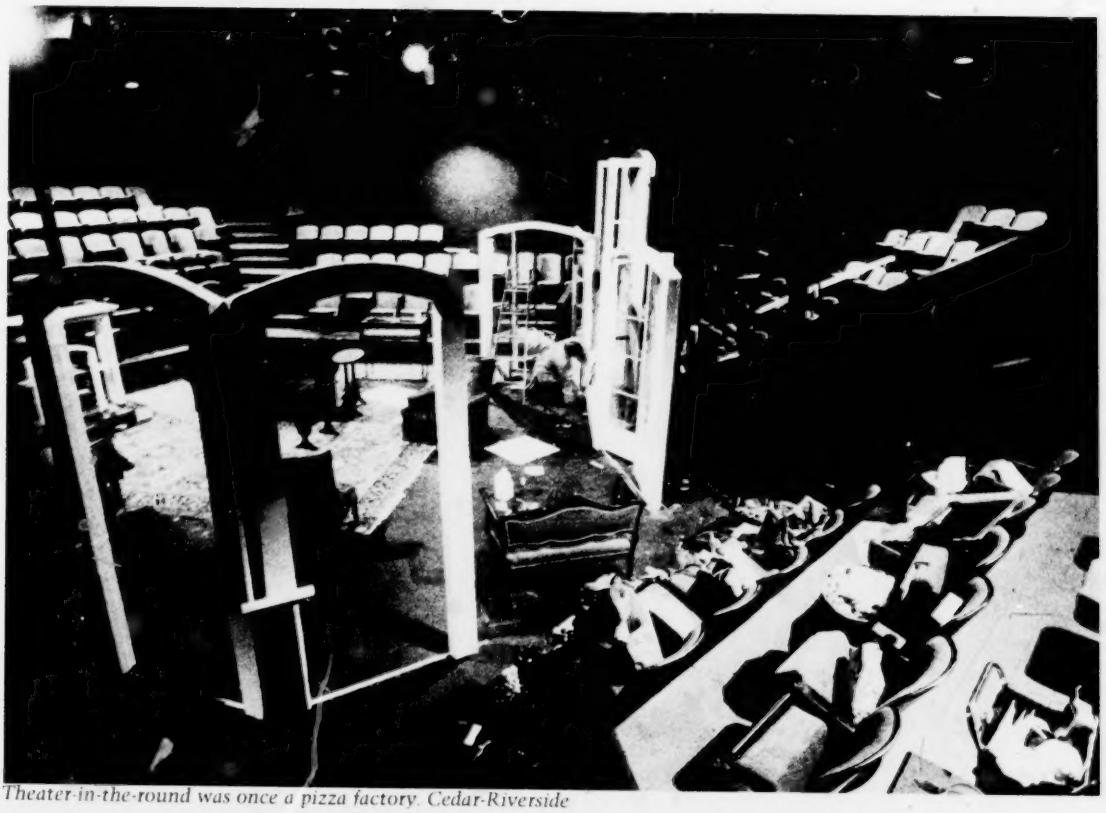
Movie theater used for dance, drama, and opera performances. Cedar-Riverside

Model of Cedar-Riverside new community in Minneapolis



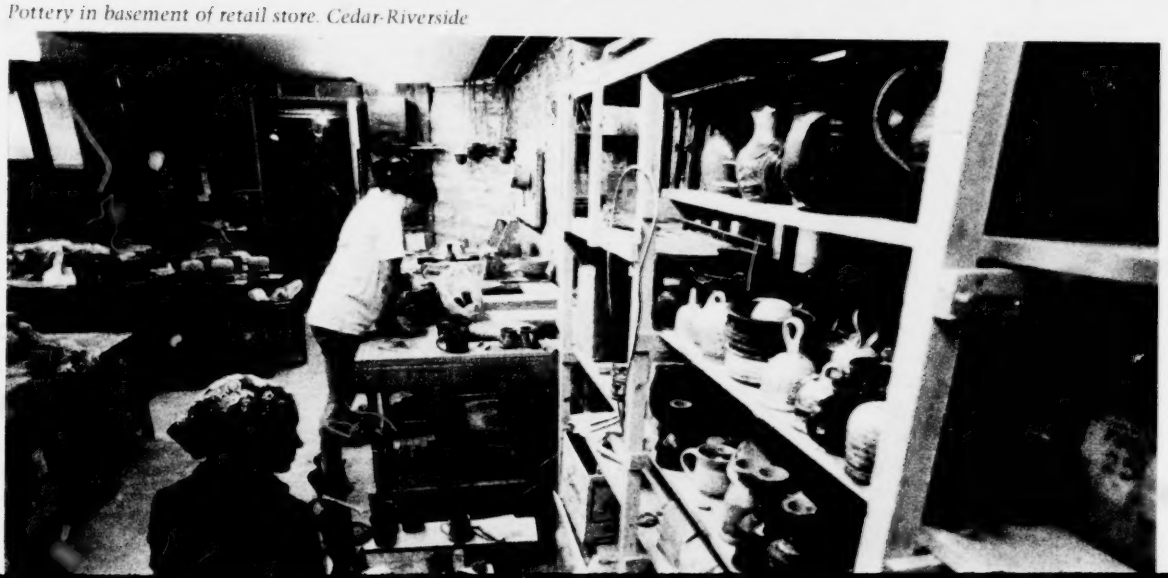


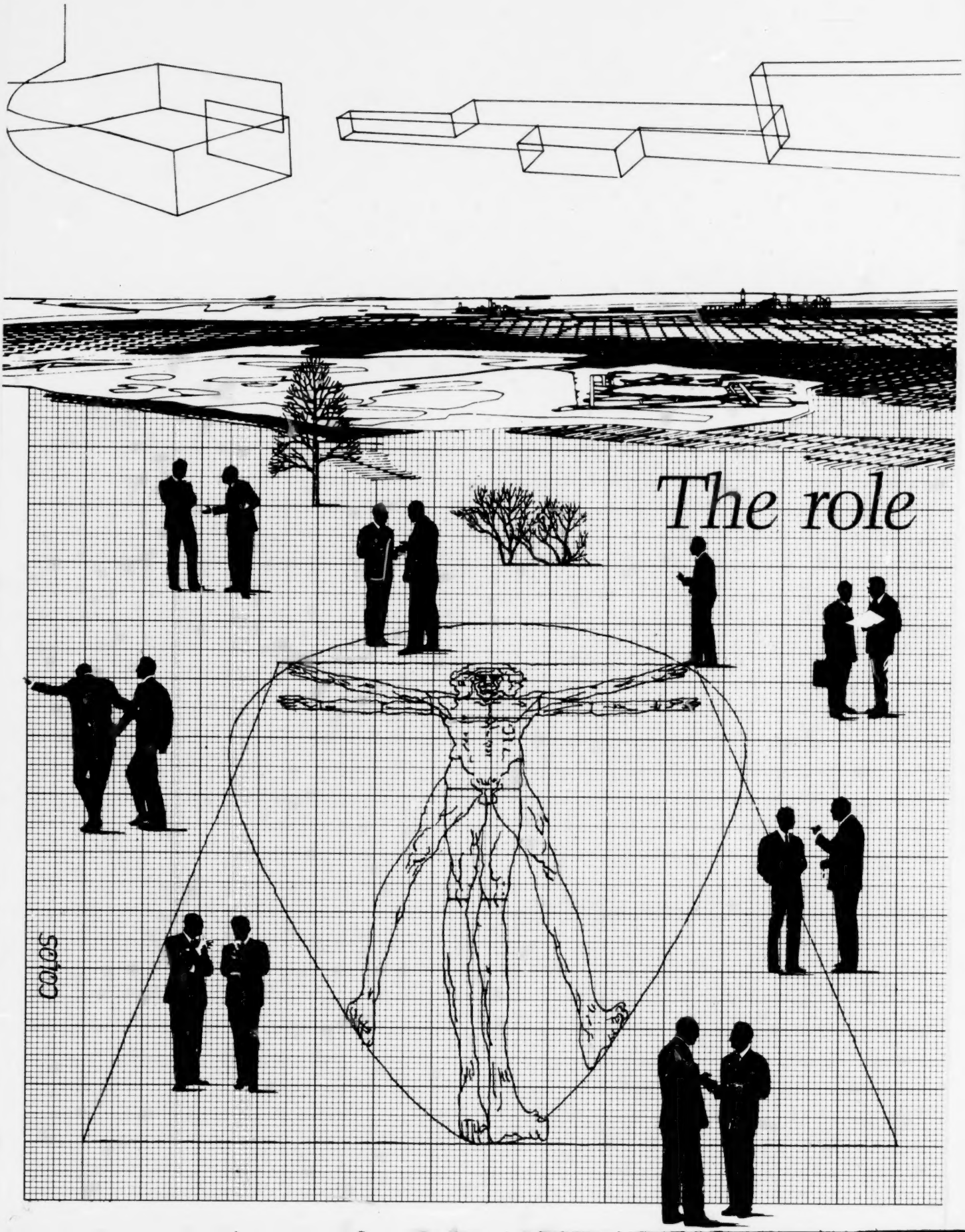
Former knitting mill converted to teaching and rehearsal space for arts programs. Cedar-Riverside



Theater-in-the-round was once a pizza factory. Cedar-Riverside

Pottery in basement of retail store. Cedar-Riverside




The role
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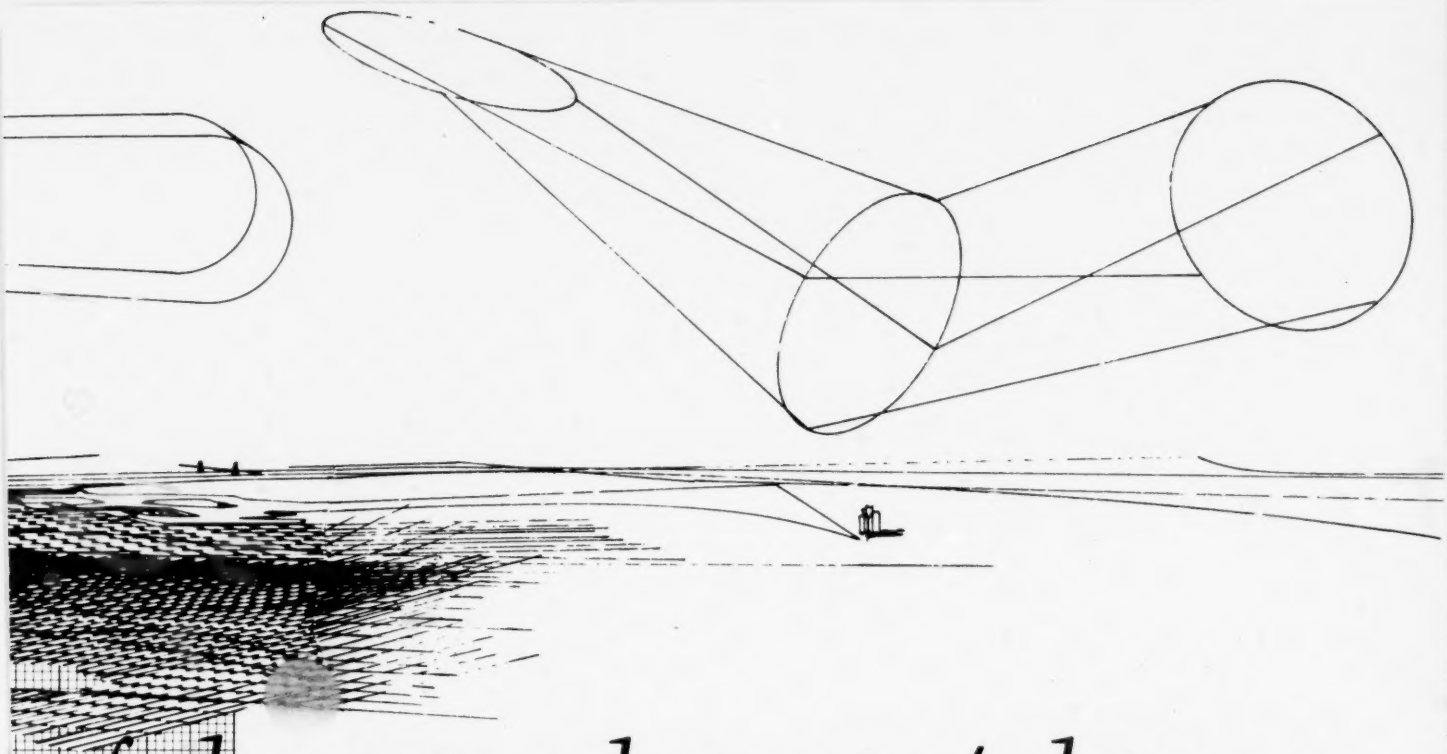
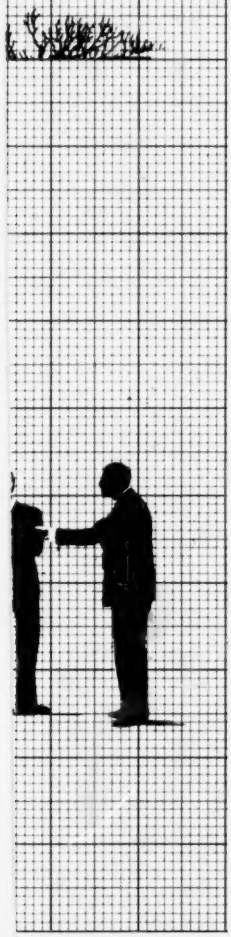


of the arts advocate/planner



If developers would study examples of the hundreds of arts programs around the country, they could do much for the artistic vitality of new communities. So could knowledge of what some of the proliferating new towns overseas are doing about the arts. So could consultation with strong artist/administrators like, say, Professor Loveless.

In fields other than the arts, new towns make extensive use of outside experts, none more than Columbia.* But although, according to the official account, Columbia's "physical development plans grow out of social and institutional development plans," it was only in 1972 that the development office brought social planning into sharper focus (with the creation of an office for Community Services and Facilities) or that it applied the work-group process to the arts.

Late in 1972, under the direction of arts consultant Ralph Burgard (with a grant from NEA), a dozen specialists defined the best course for Columbia's arts, the appropriate spaces, and the role of the developer. The work group agreed on the priority of participatory

* Columbia's developer and his staff depend heavily on the Columbia Economic Model (CEM), a complicated tool that relates planning objectives to costs. It was put together by more than the usual set of planners, architects, engineers, and so on and is constantly revised. The developers, recognizing that "a city is a most complex organism," have also relied heavily on a work group of advisers in a dozen or more fields besides physical planning, from communications to family life.

arts, the components needed to nurture them (leadership, support, talent, facilities), the advantages of integrating smallish spaces for the practice and enjoyment of the arts (and sciences) throughout community centers, and the wisdom (economic and otherwise) of timing and modulating structures for the arts to fit real needs, present and projected, rather than dreams of grandeur.

The Burgard group emphasized that, from the start of planning, the developer must give the arts parity with all the other social requirements of the civilized city. It also stated that there must be someone at the center of civic authority whose sole charge is the arts and their requirements. As part of the report, Burgard invented an imaginary new town called West River. (See box.) The group was dead set against Columbia's undertaking any large, specialized performing arts facility at this time, and two of the members recommended significant changes in the arts and crafts center now under construction that will include a 250-seat performing space.

Early in May, 1973, the Burgard document, after review by all the Columbia groups or individuals concerned with the arts, was formally discussed by 70 to 80 representatives of all community interests, including the wider community of Howard County. The official posture of the developer's office is that the community has the ball. According to the president of the Columbia Association, Padraic Kennedy, CA can provide the resources needed by the community's artists, and he indicated after the meeting that CA was willing to take account of artists' needs in planning future facilities and to place a priority on the arts in the future—"if that is what the community wants."

The amorphous specialist

The Burgard group felt strongly that there must be an individual officially in charge of helping the arts. But, as of this writing, no satellite or peripheral new town has an official advocate for the arts; indeed, not all development staffs include a "social planner," "community planner" or "human resources planner." (Flower Mound New Town, Texas, however, which plans to open in the late fall of 1973, has a small grant from NEA to help the developer work out a practical arts program for the first year.) But some developers' staffs do provide some assistance for the arts, even if it's not in their job descriptions. Gananda's community program planner, John Elder, is doing what time permits for the arts. New towns being created by art buffs like Simon and Manilow can count to a degree on the presence of "Someone Up There Who Cares"—an assumption that has the defects of its virtues. Jonathan's human resources planner, who left in the recent reorganization and whose preoccupation with such exigencies as day care left her little time for the arts, is not being replaced; consultants are used instead.

Again thanks to NEA, Cedar-Riverside and Jamaica's new town in-town boast the only resident "arts advocate/planners" in the country. Ann Payson, despite her considerable background in the arts and in the art scene of the Twin Cities, has found out the hard way that an arts advocate has little time for esthetics, but needs to be a fast study on such arcana as the Federal Housing Administration's rules and regulations, city wiring

A model for the arts

West River is an imaginary new town created by Ralph Burgard for the seminar on Columbia's arts. Although detailed, it is not meant to be a complete design but suggestive of the range that new-town cultural planning should cover.

The West River plans sketch a delightful downtown area and public cultural institutions. Most intriguing, however, is the central mechanism of the plan—*Centrum*, a nonprofit, tax-deductible corporation that is an alternative to the usual community arts council, with more flexibility. It offers the arts community many optional services:

Personnel: Primarily through an Artists Depot (foundation-funded with a full-time director). The Depot keeps an up-to-date inventory of professional artists (using a broad definition) and makes sure potential employers are familiar with it. Thus, employment opportunities are vastly increased (attracting and keeping artists as town residents) while upgrading local arts programs. By referrals, the Depot can put together new combinations of artists and scientists on demand; it has organized an electronic music and a graphic arts studio and a media workshop.

Materials: A central service through which equipment and supplies can be bought, rented, or borrowed. Centrum also sponsors a specialized library and a recycling center that gathers industrial scrap material and resells it at low cost for creative classes.

Space: Centrum buys and sells, rents and leases space itself; it also keeps an inventory of useful public space, including information on conditions and facilities.

Funds: Through a full-time development staff that is skilled in fund raising and knows where and how to apply for various grants. Organizations may use this service (as Centrum does itself). Centrum is also considering administering a united arts solicitation of business.

Service: Clerical and management support is available—central office equipment, bookkeeping, a master mailing list, promotion, and information on program ideas and administration.

and plumbing specifications, floor-area-ratios, and how you exorcise the pungent ghosts of horses long since departed from an old firehouse marvelously suited for classes and performances. In the foreword to her first report to the Endowment, Miss Payson observed that the initial assumptions of just what an arts advocate/planner is were fascinating and frequently absurd. It had taken a year, she wrote, to begin to define the role. Still with no pat answer, she could only say that in the particular circumstances of Cedar-Riverside her role has been:

> Gadfly, organizer, diplomat, coordinator, community advocate, lobbyist, crying towel, information source, dreamer, prodder, hard-nosed practicalist, planner, business person, politician, teacher, human resource, mediator, sounding-board, promoter, supporter, sympathetic listener, leader, learner, activist, facilitator, thorn-in-the-side, idealist, and above all—a Machiavellian.

Performing these various roles, Ann Payson has tried to make the arts an integral part of life, available to people of all ages, whether as spectators or participants. She works out of the developer's office, in close touch with Mrs. Segal and CRA planners, in virtually day-to-day touch with Cedar-Riverside's arts groups and individual arts, and never out of touch with C-R's plans for education and other social services, nor with the Twin Cities' many arts institutions. (Unlike what an arts advocate/planner in a satellite or free-standing new town might do, she has little need to lure in arts activity, through booking or otherwise).

The two biggest problems Miss Payson deals with are: providing (and trying to ensure

for a comfortable period) spaces the groups can afford, as well as planning adaptable "barn or warehouse" spaces for the arts as they evolve; and trying to work out a stable mechanism of funding the arts through public and private sources. A prerequisite of the latter has been persuading groups to set their own houses in economic order. A corollary to the space problem is trying to meet the pressing need of artists in the whole Twin Cities area for living and working space. In pursuit of these ends, it has been essential to work with many city departments, with the schools and colleges, and with other institutions in Cedar-Riverside.

Miss Payson hopes that one of her recent undertakings—the creation of a community arts council with NEA support—will eventually do her out of a job.

The council is designed to achieve collaboration among groups in areas where they can work together without feeling threats to artistic or financial integrity. It will arrange for shared space, accounting, billing, printing, mailing, and the like. It will not conduct any fund raising for individual operations, but will raise funds for community purposes. It is managing community-owned arts facilities; cosponsoring programs with other metropolitan agencies; working on plans with the developer; acting as a clearinghouse for information and communication, maintaining liaison with the Minnesota Arts Council and state and federal agencies; lobbying for changes in liquor laws and zoning, and for greater private and public support of the arts. It is also working closely with Cedar-Riverside task forces concerned with education, child care, and recreation. Membership includes arts organizations and representatives of individual artists, craftsmen, writers, business, and the developer.

The board of directors, headed by a well-known Minneapolis businessman, includes representatives of arts groups, usually from the managerial rather than the artistic side—since a central concern is the internal stability of the arts groups. Miss Payson has, as she puts it, recently "seceded from the 'mother' role" in the creation of the council, which she expects will—once it is operating effectively—take over the function of arts advocacy/planning.

Ann Payson's job is an experiment and may well set a precedent for the arts in new towns generally. A permanent adjunct of Cedar-Riverside's staff is the slot of human resources planner, held by Kathleen Connell. She is convinced that if the arts are to make it in new towns, the planner must include them from the start with such other "social services" as education, and health and child care. Furthermore, Miss Connell believes, this union should be reflected in the town's design. "Don't put art in little boxes," she says. "If you want to make the arts an integral part of the community, the last thing you want to do is to set them apart in a special structure so people can say: 'That's our arts building, we went there Saturday night for a concert and that's where Susie goes for dancing lessons.' "

The same thought from another county: the Episcopal vicar of Reston, Embry Rucker, whose Common Ground Foundation copes with problem teenagers, child care, and other such problems, says, "Every time a church goes up nowadays, they offer a chapel to the glory of God and a community room to the glory of man." Almost in Miss Connell's

words, he opposes "special-interest groups putting up such little exclusive boxes."

The nation's only other full-time resident arts advocate/planner works for Jamaica Center, the commercial hub of Queens County in New York City. He is young Ward Mintz, formerly assistant to the director of the Brooklyn Museum. Mintz came in close to the start of the Jamaica plans. In contrast to Ann Payson, who must emphasize the advocate (or settle the nuts-and-bolts problems) position for C-R's teeming arts activities, Mintz must hit the planning aspect of his job more heavily.

Creating a spanking new downtown for Queens is the goal of the Greater Jamaica Development Corporation—a coalition of private enterprise and individuals, with diverse public funding, city cooperation, and technical guidance by the Regional Plan Association (which believes the "subcenter" is the means of saving metropolitan areas).

One of RPA's senior planners saw the need to start planning for the arts. The result: in 1972 the Development Corporation and the Queens Council on the Arts collaborated to secure an NEA grant to partially support an arts advocate/planner; the rest came from RPA and the State Council on the Arts, with the corporation providing overhead. Mintz, who started that summer, has two basic goals: 1) to provide the Jamaica Center with exhibitions and programs in the visual and performing arts; 2) and to establish a permanent cultural facility in the Center.

He is working to bring state, city, and private agencies together with local artists and performing groups, and he is pressing for more public art to be incorporated into major capital projects such as the subway and York College (a new component of the city university within the town in-town).

RPA's background study had established the presence of "a wealth of professional and semiprofessional performing arts groups" in Queens, but also the lack of suitable rehearsal, performance, and permanent exhibit space. Therefore "a special place to accommodate a wide variety of cultural activities" is seen as a paramount need. A good, centrally located candidate is a century-old, city-owned structure called the City Register. Support for the acquisition is being sought (and usually gained) from community leaders, business people, and many other key groups and individuals—notably representatives of the public school system and of York College, the Queens Council on the Arts, and community artists.

What does all this add up to? For one thing, it would seem, somebody's got to be in charge of the artistic store. Ideally that somebody should have no other major occupational preoccupations. Strong leadership is essential to the arts. In a new town, particularly at the outset, this leadership has to be provided by the developer and his top command. Certainly the developer and his staff should not practice cultural autocracy. But they should take the lead in creating opportunities. Art by fiat won't work, but neither will sitting back and waiting for popular demand.

Moreover, in planned new towns it is essential to accord the arts parity with other "social services" from the start of planning, in order to bring them into a working union with other aspects of life.

The New York Times
FRANCIS
PARKMAN
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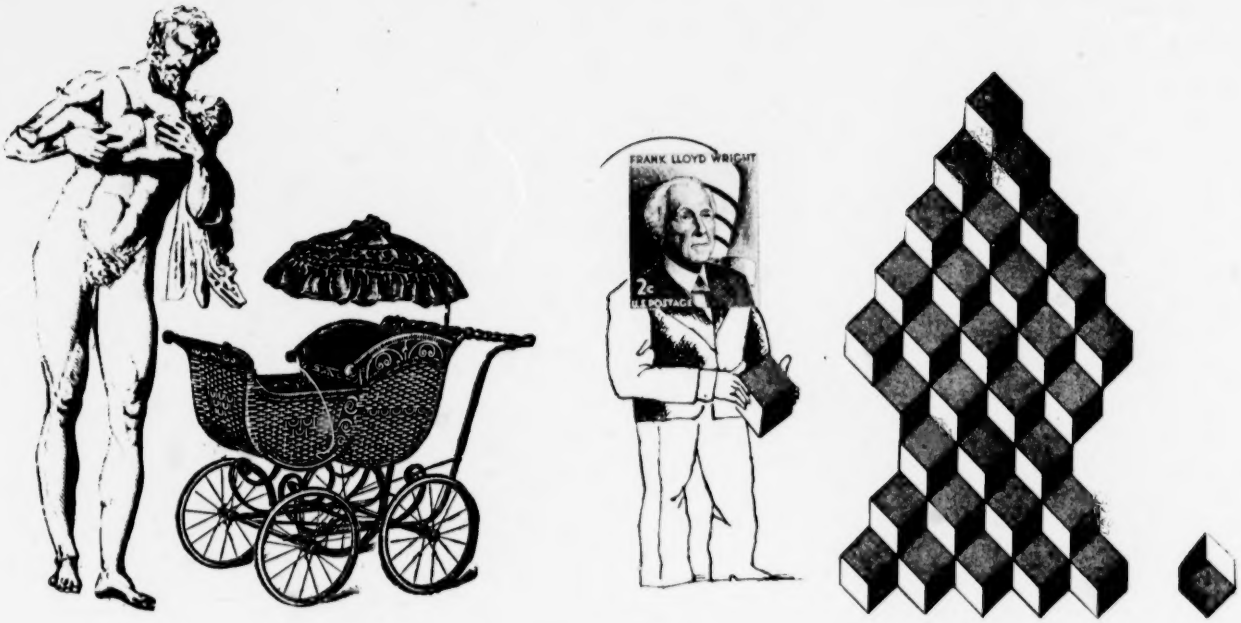


The people, yes and no

To provide the basic components of an independent community before the first resident arrives, planners have to anticipate the future popular will. Their view must be very long indeed, since most new towns are not expected to reach full growth for some twenty years from their opening.

It is possible for developers to get a fair fix on the configuration of the immediate population-to-be through tools such as surveys. But the developer also determines the population by the quality of the town he is building, by the range of rentals and selling prices, by his very sales pitch. And there is always the bargain he must strike between staying in business and making good on his commitment to create a first-rate alternative to urban sprawl. Thus a new town's provisions for the arts are in part decreed from on high and in part by what residents want now or may want later.*

During the first four or five years, the typical new-town citizen exerts no real leverage on his town's expenditures, management, policies, structures, and delivery of services.

* There is an extra twist in new towns: with one exception, the towns sampled for this report lack a political identity of their own. They are all part of a larger jurisdiction—a county (Reston, Columbia, and the upstate New York new towns) or of an adjoining or surrounding town or city (Cedar-Riverside, Jamaica, and Jonathan). The single exception is Park Forest South, which, with the developer's blessing, began by incorporating itself as a village with an elected government.

This lack of power particularly handicaps proponents of the arts, which nowhere command the bread-and-butter urgency of schooling, or transportation, or health care, or, it would seem, recreation. Such power as the new-towner can exert depends ultimately on the developer and the kind of quasi-governmental structures he has devised for his town. These vary considerably in scope, but whatever the structure, democracy during a new town's incubation is pretty much a matter of man proposing, developer disposing.

Riverton has two governing structures: Riverton Community Association which is empowered to assess residents for community services, recreation, and arts, and Riverton Community Programs, Inc., a nonprofit organization with IRS clearance to raise funds from individuals and organizations. The board of directors of RCP will include representatives of the Eastman School of Music, Rochester Institute of Technology and the State University of New York at Brockport.

Presumably these two groups are designed to give residents a greater-than-usual say in the arts and other community concerns. The separate nonprofit organization will provide esthetic and other community benefits without levying assessments on the elderly, the less affluent, and the plain uninterested.

Morton Hoppenfeld, of Columbia, has written of "the fascinating conflict between the need for control over fundamental development decisions (by the developer), and the incessant desire for community control on the part of the residents." There is nothing sinister in the developer's keeping a tight rein on new-town governance. The pattern prevails even in Britain's government-sponsored new towns until development is complete. Without such (nominally benign) despotism, long-range plans to create a balanced urban community could be scrapped overnight. Not long ago a city planner pointed out that with complete citizen involvement, "Columbia, for instance, would probably end up all low-density." Nor is there much evidence to date that voters, given their full voice, would give precedence to the arts over a snappier bus schedule.

But when the record is in, Park Forest South, unique among the new towns considered here for instituting self-government from the start, may refute such conventional wisdom. At this point, only six years old and with a population of 5,000, the town is a phenomenon of instant democracy. The turnout for town elections is exceptional: 85 percent in 1972. Organizations of all kinds abound. Most of the people appear to be strong supporters of the basic new-town concept, but they often differ with the developer—and each other—on details and procedures. "Maybe controversy is 'the' art form of new towns," developer Lew Manilow said recently. (For an example which concerns the arts, see box.)

But in Jonathan, the arts started off in about the same manner. The developer provided some funds and space in an old stone farmhouse for the Jonathan Carver Art Center. It put on a fairly successful program its first year but thereafter dwindled to a token operation. Why? According to the development office, it was chiefly because one of the three leading spirits moved away, and the other two (man and wife) became occupied with family and business concerns. But there seem to have been few developer efforts to replace them.

That is a common pattern. The developer lets the people do what they want about

the arts, with some assistance in the way of free or low-cost space, plus, perhaps, attempts at more "big-time stuff" if he feels, from personal conviction or external persuasion, that art is great and shall prevail. Town planning is infinitely complex, not to mention incredibly expensive. ("Maybe art is one of the ten important things the builder should do all at once," said a Jonathan spokesman. "But there's only time for six.") And there are possible moves that would blur the apparent contradiction between arts by dictatorship and laissez-faire. One, as previously noted, is to provide a staff slot for an arts advocate who can work with community members. Another is to seek out arts leadership from among community residents. A third is to lure such leadership to town and keep it there.

The emphasis on residents is important. Granted that, especially during the gestation of most new towns, "community" or avocational arts will predominate, the need remains for people who are themselves artists to teach or direct the neophytes. Artists-in-residence (i.e., temporary guests whose presence is subsidized) are common, especially in communities that include a college or university. But artists as residents is a concept that few developers seem to consider important to a town's cultural vitality. Confronted with the idea, they react in largely negative ways.

Their underlying counterargument hinges on the belief that artists are funnier than anybody (to paraphrase the late Colonel Stoopnagle) and probably the least temperamentally attracted to living in a planned new town. But artists are people, and, even if many might find new towns unappealing, others might enjoy them for as many reasons as there are individual artists—congenial jobs, low-cost work space, the company of other

The case of the degraded prairie

Early in 1972, Lewis Manilow proposed to Governors State University the construction of an outdoor pavilion for music and dance festivals. Aware of the pitfalls (exemplified by the Merriweather Post Pavilion in Columbia), he was convinced by other evidence (e.g., Chicago's Ravinia) that such an operation was feasible. With 2.5 million people within a 45-minute drive of Park Forest South, it seemed a good bet. For one thing, the university already had a perfect stretch of land.

The university administration was enthusiastic. The prospect struck President William Engbretson as splendid for both his institution and the community. Manilow offered to lend part of the needed funds and located an experienced operator who would manage the enterprise under lease, but allow the university to use the arena for some of its own programs.

Then the storm broke. A group of students and faculty violently opposed this desecration of the land in meetings, handbills, the press. The issue? Ecology vs. culture. The proposed acreage was a "degraded prairie" (farmland that has lain fallow for a generation). As such it was a unique asset and must not be sacrificed to construction. President Engbretson countered that 1) pavilion or no pavilion, a piece of land accessible to an eventual 10,000 students would not remain forever wild; and 2) there was nothing unique about this particular prairie, however degraded, whereas there were several unique prairies a mere half-hour's drive away. But following months of battle, the university senate voted against the pavilion and all its works. After the vote, Manilow said: "Beethoven lost."

In Manilow's view, the episode was symbolic, for the proposal represented the machinations of Authority and offered a convenient target for endemic university dissent. (His hypothesis gains credence considering the *mise en scène* was an unconventional university located in a totally planned community.)

And now for the surprise ending: GSU's board of trustees upheld President Engbretson. There will be a pavilion, perhaps a year hence. Triangle Productions of Chicago has agreed to take charge. And the moral of it all—Authority, Yes, the People, No? Art Conquers Nature, Beethoven Beats Botany?—may well be left to Lewis Carroll's Duchess.

artists, whatever. But recruitment is necessary; granting the need for artists as residents, it seems insufficient to leave it to fate and the overall attractions a town has to offer.

A few new towns are taking a closer look at demographies in this light. Riverton is negotiating with the nearby Rochester Institute of Technology to build student housing on the site, for which government subsidies may be available. (Also under consideration is the construction of crafts buildings, along the lines of medieval guild halls, where institute faculty and students could work together and with the community; no living space would be included.) In Cedar-Riverside, plans are being made to spot 50 spaces for artists within 250 units of experimental housing around town, in some future but still undetermined phase of construction.

Participatory and anticipatory democracy

New towns would do well to study manifestations of the increasing vigor of participatory arts in big cities, suburbs, and small towns—not as copybook models, but to distill therefrom essentials of process and principle. An involved community is essential, for sure; and so is strong leadership. Walnut Creek has an organization, Civic Arts, that should be of particular moment to the managers of new towns since it is, in fact, the art department of this San Francisco Bay city of 43,000. In its own words, it is "an extraordinary manifestation of partnership between community, leadership, and civic government."

Unlike most municipal arts operations, Civic Arts is in no way connected with parks or recreation. It all began with an art competition and exhibit back in 1955. The visible public interest inspired the city to appoint a study commission, which in turn led to the appointment of a full-time director to run a year-round arts program. The first director, installed in 1963, was budgeted $8,000 for his first year, and himself taught the first program: arts and crafts for children. The operating budget is now $300,000. Revenue is about $158,000, with about half from tuition; the rest comes from fees for use of facilities, contributions from supporting agencies, contractual arrangements with agencies such as school districts, and ticket sales. Director Ronald F. Caya says he has virtually no trouble defending his budget, since the city governors now give it the same acceptance as, say, street repairs.

An array of citizen guilds with specific concerns (say, ceramics or audience development) backs up Civic Arts with staff aides and fund raisers and provides most capital monies. Participation in every art form has skyrocketed; in addition, the department books programs into Walnut Creek, and now has a regional audience for its own output.

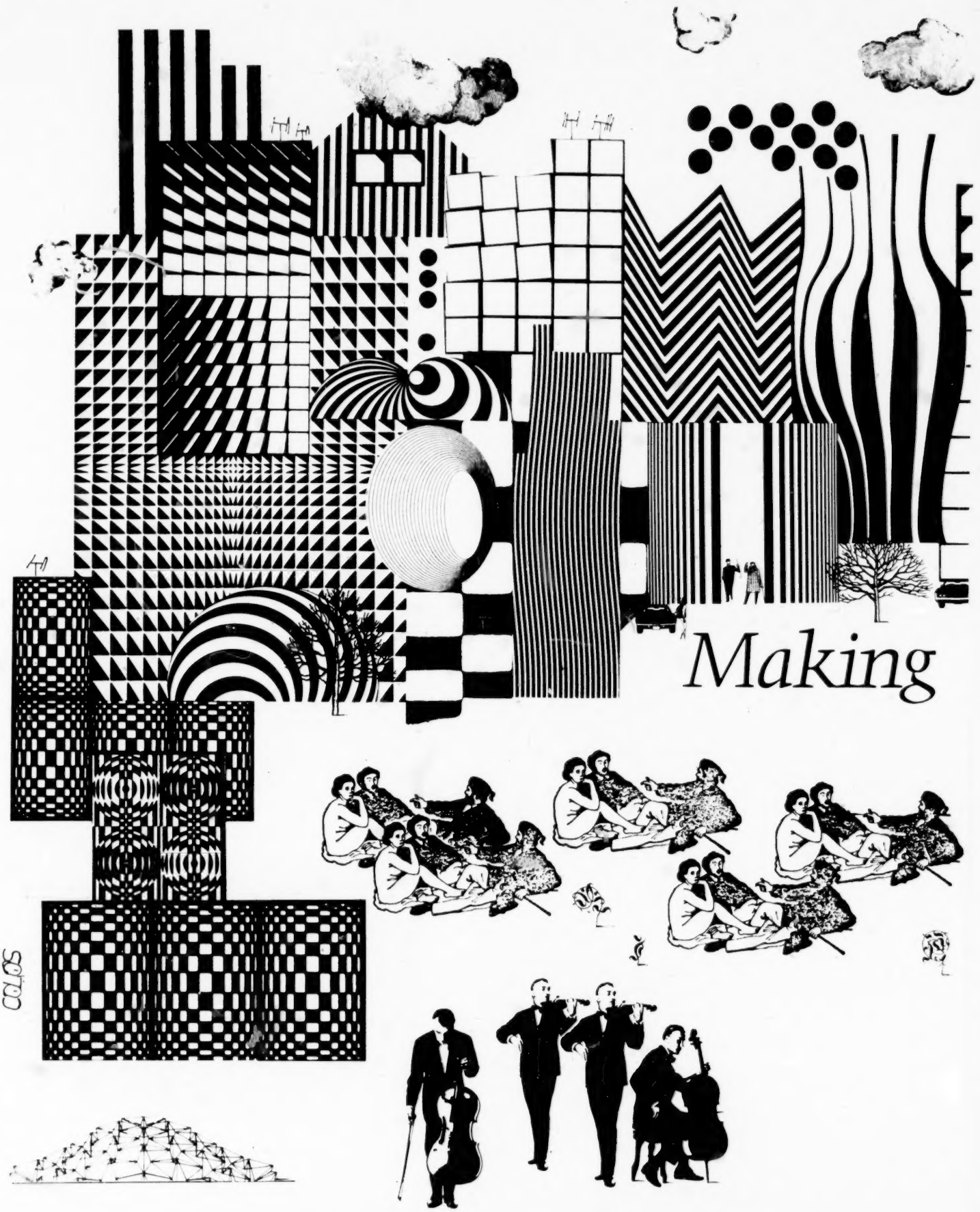
Civic Arts program evolution is complemented by the imaginative adaptation of spaces to meet changing needs: from surplus Quonset huts, to a walnut-warehouse-turned-theatre, to a system of eight prefab portable modules for its instructional programs. In a few years Walnut Creek will have its own arts complex in the heart of town.

The Walnut Creek story is an edifying example of participatory democracy in the world of art. One of the new towns studied for this report has worked a variation on "anticipatory" democracy, quite different from conventional polls and demographic sur-

veys. In considering the design and purposes of Gananda's first projected neighborhood center, design consultants David Lewis and Raymond Gindroz, of Urban Design Associates, did not take refuge in the half-truth that "the community does not yet exist." Instead they chose 200 people then living on or near the site—people who might actually live in the Gananda-to-be or who would feel the growth of the new town—to play out a series of planning "games."

Because the players were led to consider all conceivable uses of an institution and not merely its ostensible function, it became clear that the use of spaces is "so fraught with overlap of every kind that only the most specialized uses can remain institutionalized in the traditional manner." In short, once you break down such conditioned responses as: library = reading; theatre = viewing; school = studying; then you break down physical specialization and open the way to all kinds of sensible innovations. And so the planners gained confidence that "enormous savings in capital and operational costs . . . can be developed by a combination of clustering and careful scheduling of space." The results of the games significantly influenced the siting and the design of the neighborhood center. So the people, yes, have played an important part in the shape and uses of this first community building in Gananda, which will include multi-use areas for joint use by schools and community.

What this all seems to mean in anticipatory democracy is that new-towners, if they value the arts in any form, have a distinct role to play. In the early years, when the population is very small, it is reasonable for the residents to look to the developer's leadership and active help. However, hoping for a sensitive response from the head office, they should assert their choices and needs, and seek out kindred spirits in the community to strengthen their case. Professional artists temperamentally attuned to group work or public service should make their availability known both to developer and residents. All residents with an interest, whether active or passive, in the arts could work to raise their status in the local schools and colleges, and, by involving themselves, help toward a healthier, more balanced, richer development in the life of each child and grownup, and thereby in the town itself.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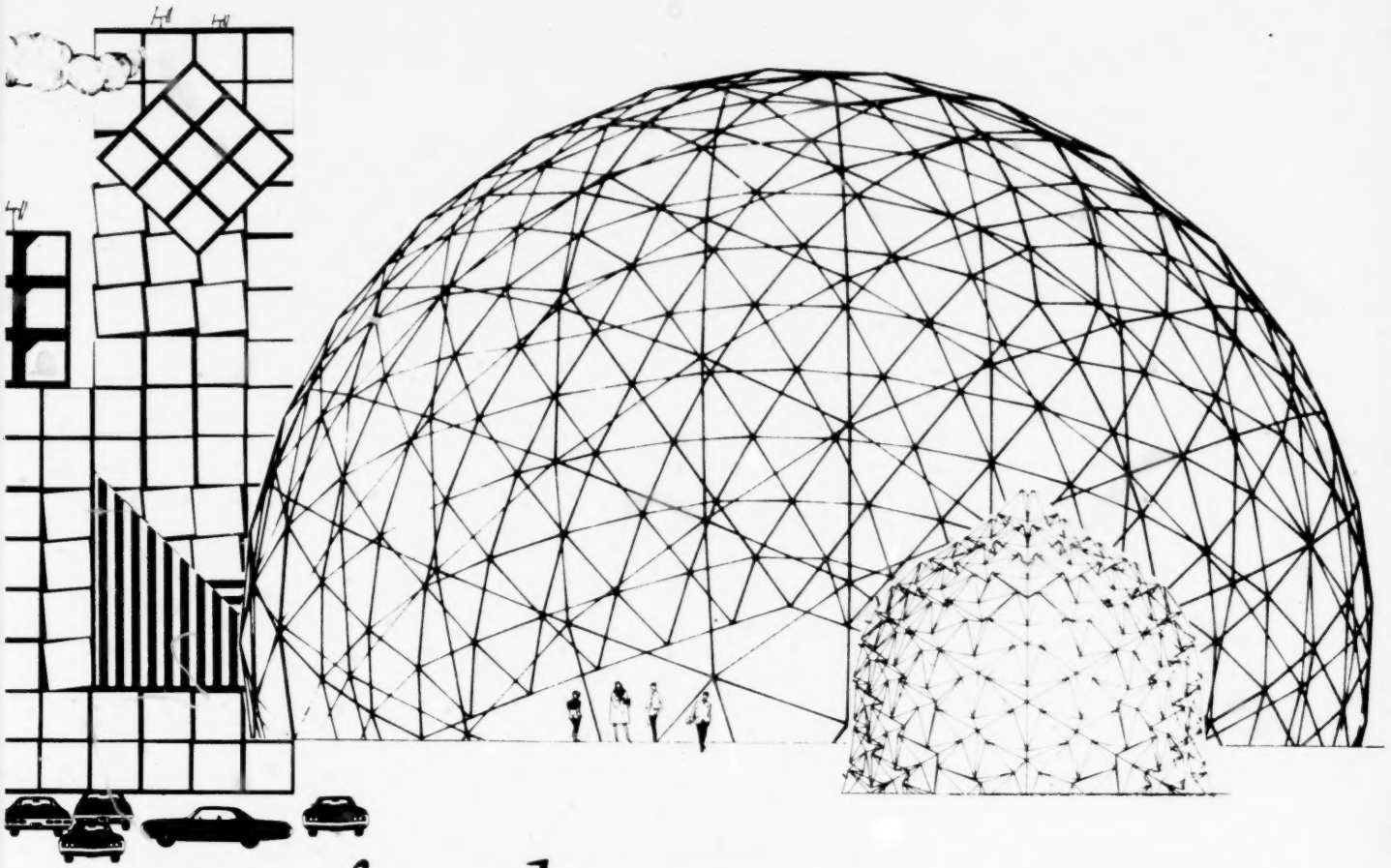


room for the arts

The most commonplace and least specialized spaces lend themselves to the arts, indeed, can even inspire them. Lofts, garages, warehouses, attics, storefronts, mills—they've all been put to lively artistic use in communities large and small across the land. Many new-town planners dismiss the potential of "found space": most new towns create all, "find" nothing—except for the occasional precious barn or substantial dwelling. But sooner or later commercial or industrial space changes hands, becomes available perhaps for some kind of arts enterprise. And is there any reason why the essential schools, churches, warehouses, plants, municipal headquarters, libraries, and such cannot provide truly joint spaces for the arts, or add on modest spaces for arts purposes?

In broad terms, it is easier to provide physically for the visual arts than for the performing arts. It is usually possible to provide some sort of real gallery and outdoor exhibit space, and it's a flint-hearted developer who does not commission outdoor sculpture. A museum is obviously more complex and expensive, and probably inappropriate for most new towns to consider until they reach a sizeable population or can work out a symbiotic connection with an established museum. Again, there are useful lessons to be gleaned from established communities. In a piece called "New Spaces for New Arts," Peter Blake and Ellen Perry Berkeley cited the following examples:

"In what was once a church in Washington, D.C., then a skating rink, and most recently a theatre, the Smithsonian Institution opened its Anacostia Neighborhood Museum late in 1967. In a free-to-touch atmosphere, the museum offers numerous exhibits from the Smithsonian (bone collections, pottery shards, a space capsule), locally initiated exhibits, a closed-circuit TV for dramatic fun, art classes—and so on. Contrary to the expectation of critics who thought the museum would be met with indifference in this ghetto community, the reaction has been extraordinary. To quote one young visitor's contribution to the suggestion box: "I suggest this is the most fun I had on earth." In another renovation, a two-story brick warehouse on New York City's Lower East Side became the Whitney Museum's Art Resources Center. The building contains studio workshops for youngsters and their teacher-professionals (in painting, sculpture, and writing), a gallery for works from the Whitney's permanent collection, and classroom space for use by public school teachers. And in New York's Bedford-Stuyvesant district a one-time automobile showroom and poolhall has been made into a vital segment of the Brooklyn Children's Museum. Built to a budget of only $40,000 (and to an equally tight time schedule—16 weeks for design and construction), MUSE is an extraordinary architectural event: Its all-glass facade draws children's curiosity inside, and its long entry tunnel makes the arrival a game of mystery. Inside, MUSE offers exhibits to touch, foreign costumes to try on, animals to handle, and classes in art, music, dance, theatre, astronomy (there is a tiny planetarium), creative writing, and various other subjects in which the community has expressed an interest. It is sobering to realize that this busy place, only eight blocks from the main children's museum, draws children who were previously unknown to the museum staff."*

Finding old space in new towns

Besides links with other institutions, new towns have (or have been sold on) other physical plans with implications for the arts. "Multipurpose" is almost as flexible a concept as "flexible." New-towners concerned with the arts stress the need to specify what's included in "multi" (one reason why a background or crash course in physical planning is helpful to arts and other social planners). For instance, many different kinds of spaces can be adapted for theatrical productions, but a 12-ft ceiling might hamper basketball. So one needs to know what the "multi" purposes are, and exactly when and for how long the space will be available for this or that group.

Other constants in new-town terminology are "found" (or "adaptive") space, and "rehab" (often used as a verb).

The typical satellite town is created on farm acreage, and planners go to lengths to keep the best of the old houses, barns, and outbuildings. (Some developers strike it luckier than others when it comes to the names of these precursors: thus, the farm in Park Forest South, which is now a teen center, is called Riegal Farm, whereas Jonathan's prize is Worm Barn Theatre.)

* *Cultural Affairs*, May, 1971.

By and large the performing arts require more extensive and costly space than new-town developers are willing or able to supply on their own. The usual compromise is an all-purpose meeting room of modest dimensions, which is used for performances. The groups themselves must scrounge around for rehearsal, storage, and office space.

The Reston Community Players can squeeze no more than 100 people into Lake Anne Hall, for their theatre-in-the-round productions. (They once had an old church to use for storage, but it burned to the ground last year.) Jonathan has a general-purpose meeting room in the town center; it also has provided an attractive theatre in a converted barn, but, since the cost of insulating it against Minnesota winters would be exorbitant, it serves the Interim Players only in temperate weather. Part of Riverton's first neighborhood center is a small—25 ft x 30 ft—auditorium equipped with projection facilities. Eventually plans call for its use as a TV studio, with a more sizeable theatre built next door. The town is blessed with a number of barns, and partisans are plumping to use them for a summer crafts school, a dance festival, and studio space for local artists. The town's crowning old-time glory is an assortment of exceptionally handsome barns adjoining the first neighborhood center. Cornell University consultants and a craftsmen's association are busily contriving uses that would also defray carrying costs. Riverton Properties' president, Andrew Goldman, wants to preserve the barns (possibly converting them into efficiency apartments for artists "if all else fails"), but if the barns can't sustain themselves on the profit-and-loss statement, they risk destruction. Robert Simon, however, seems confident the new Riverton Community Programs, Inc., will subsidize them—if necessary.

Converting and sharing space

Preserving the old amid the new takes on a different light in a new town in-town like Cedar-Riverside, and one might expect considerable preservation and rehabilitation. Whatever the laments of sentimentalists and people who like cheap living space, however, very few of the existing structures will survive redevelopment. According to Gloria Segal, 90 percent of the low buildings, brick veneer over wood, which date from around the turn of the century, have no historic, esthetic, or practical value, and must give way to taller, sturdier structures if Cedar-Riverside is to survive. But the area does include several key structures—a church, an old meeting hall, a firehouse, and a warehouse—that the developers and their social/arts planners want to preserve.

Each has its special adaptive qualities, but the firehouse can represent all for this discussion. No visitor to Cedar-Riverside can last a day without absorbing the local "thing" about The Firehouse. It begins to take on the aura of Chartres or the Parthenon, even though your typical Minneapolis hackie can find it only when he recalls it was the place where that feller McCosh sold old books.

Heller-Segal owns this elegantly proportioned structure and is planning a complete renovation. The city now tolerates outmoded wiring and plumbing as long as occupancy is confined to 100. By early spring 1973, The Firehouse was almost completely scheduled through the summer—theatre-in-the-round rehearsals, Shakespeare-in-the-streets auditions,

concerts by the West Bank School of Music, a dance residency, various classes and seminars in urban architecture for youngsters and for professionals. These seminars are structured to deal with architecture, the environment, and ecology, and will involve the kids directly in what is going on around them in Cedar-Riverside, and what it means to each of them. An excellent prospectus and not duplicated in other new towns.

An interesting question about multipurpose space: "Why can't new-town churches be used for performances?" Why not? They could be built with this dual purpose in mind. All over the country, one can find churches—which tend to have good acoustics as well as spacious sanctuaries—being used almost round the clock for operas, recitals, musicals, movies, plays. To be sure, some churches oppose such use on theological grounds (but one can't generalize by denomination). Also, some sanctuaries are ill-adapted for dramatic production—fixed pews, bad sight lines, lighting problems. But the Central Presbyterian Church of Rochester, for instance, which was built in 1870 for Sunday evening hymn sings, has just leased its semicircular main sanctuary to the Rochester Shakespeare Theatre. And in New York City, church is often where the action is—from the enormous Cathedral Church of St. John the Divine to that small Stanford White gem on Washington Square South, Judson Memorial Church (Baptist), where the Reverend Al Carmines stages the products of his boundless, brilliant, and bawdy imagination.

Will arts leave city centers?

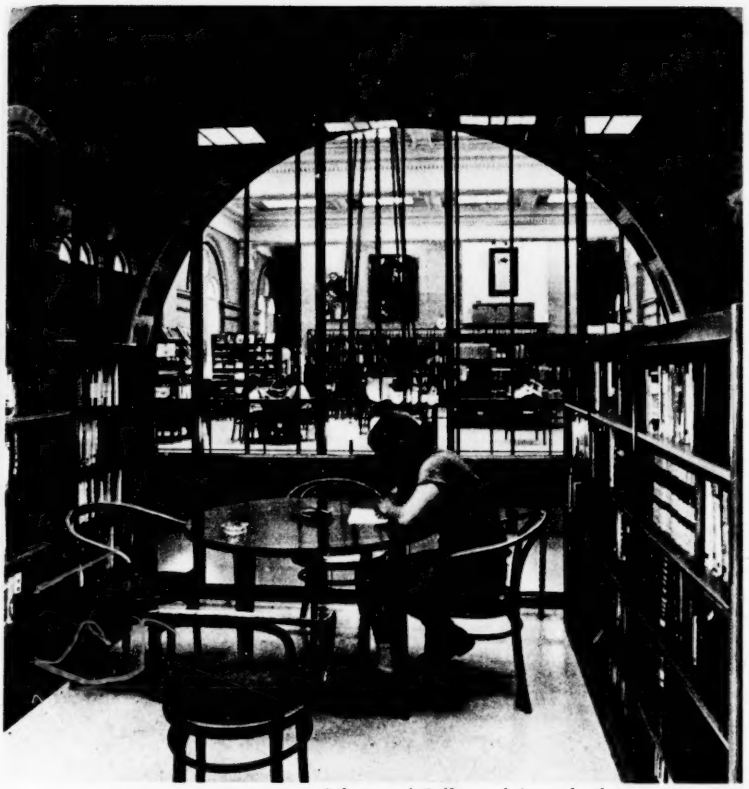
In considering spaces it is important to consider who is going to use them and where these people are going to come from. New towns try to draw upon major metropolitan resources, and also to combine forces with their immediate neighbors—Jonathan with Chaska and Excelsior, Reston with Herndon, Gananda with the hamlet of Macedon Center that it encloses. Insofar as the arts are concerned, this policy has yet to score a bullseye, though judgment must be tentative since so few towns are in actual operation.

Still, there are some signs of give and take. Jonathan, for instance, makes a big point of welcoming Chaska townspeople and others to its pools, rinks, and festivals, and its recreation director is trying hard to work with people outside Jonathan in setting up programs (including arts and crafts); a summer program operates through formal arrangement with the school district. Working in the other direction, he has brought Minneapolis' quite far-out West Bank Music School to Jonathan for weekly classes.

Ralph Burgard has observed that as yet there are no major arts institutions, outside of summer operations, located in American suburbs. He feels that year-round suburban cultural institutions will turn out to be more flexible and emphasize more diverse programs than the traditional symphonies, theatre, and museums of the central cities. Among new-town developers, Lew Manilow, for one, is convinced that summer operations can be a major factor. He thinks for instance, that the Merriweather Post Pavilion fiasco was not inevitable, and that a strategically located new town, such as Park Forest South, could draw audiences from a wide area to diverse attractions. There are big outdoor operations all over the country that are breaking even or maybe making a profit—and

not just with rock concerts, but with chamber groups, dance, soloists.

America is seeing a heartening growth of regionalism in the arts. Take, out of dozens of instances, Ballet West in Salt Lake City, originating in 1953 as a department of the University of Utah under the direction of William Christensen, who had founded the San Francisco Ballet. In 1969, aided by private foundation and NEA grants, the company—then called the Utah Civic Ballet—became Ballet West and extended its performances to all the Rocky Mountain states and points west. Though no longer formally allied to the university, Ballet West rents performing space on the campus, but the stage is now much too small for the scenery they use on tour. They have their own office and storage space (essential backup spaces often ignored by new-town planners) but need a bigger stage and hall for their hometown performances.



Library of College of Art is built at mezzanine level of the former waiting room.

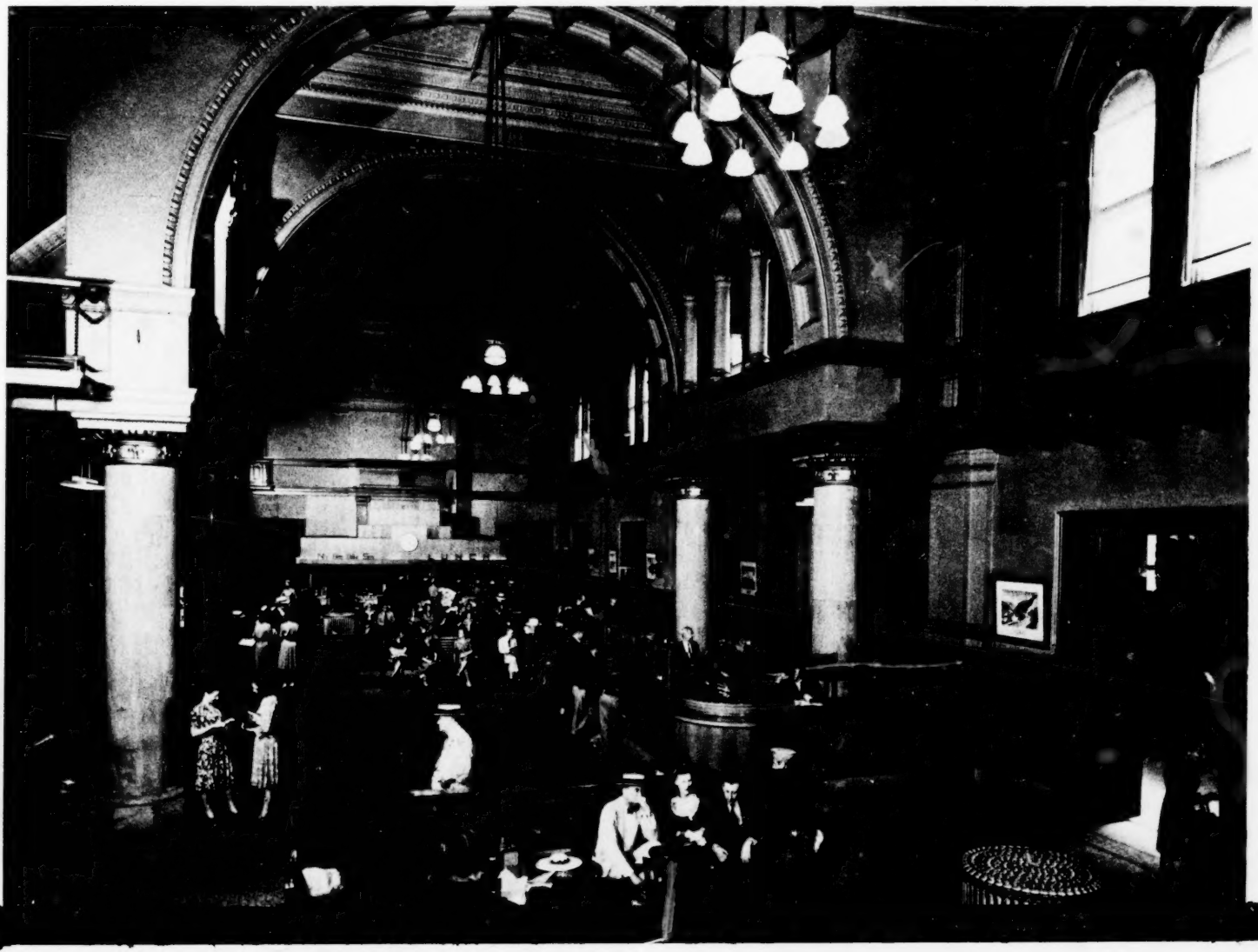
Nontraditional places for the arts

Planners and arts advocates have to consider a wide range of possibilities when they are planning spaces for arts in new towns. They should particularly avoid dismissing ideas that have worked elsewhere but that at first glance seem inapplicable to brand new communities. Informal, converted, and found places—all sorts of nontraditional facilities—are housing significant artistic endeavors all over the country.

Theaters have been built inside the most unlikely old buildings such as banks and the ubiquitous barns. Railroad stations have been converted into galleries, studios and schools for the fine and performing arts. Churches and firehouses have become dance studios and art centers, storefronts and automobile showrooms have become neighborhood art centers and museums.

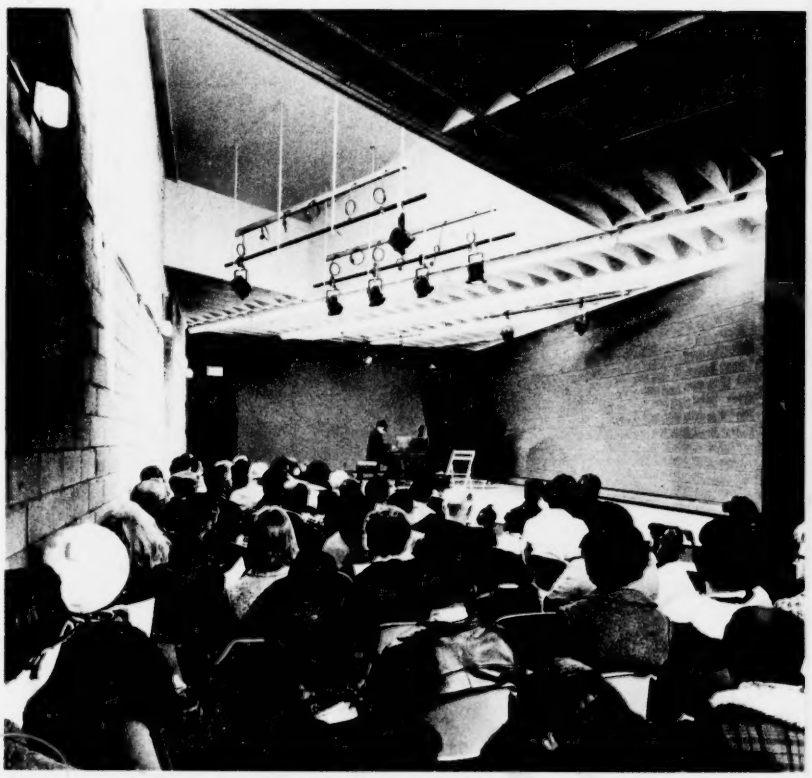
Why are such nontraditional places part of the answer for housing the arts? First, if art is considered

The waiting room of Mount Royal Station in Baltimore before it was converted into the Maryland Institute College of Art.



Former warehouse and adjacent landmarked bank in Louisville, Ky., were converted to storage and work spaces and lobby for theatre built behind them.

Guild of the Performing Arts, Cedar-Riverside.



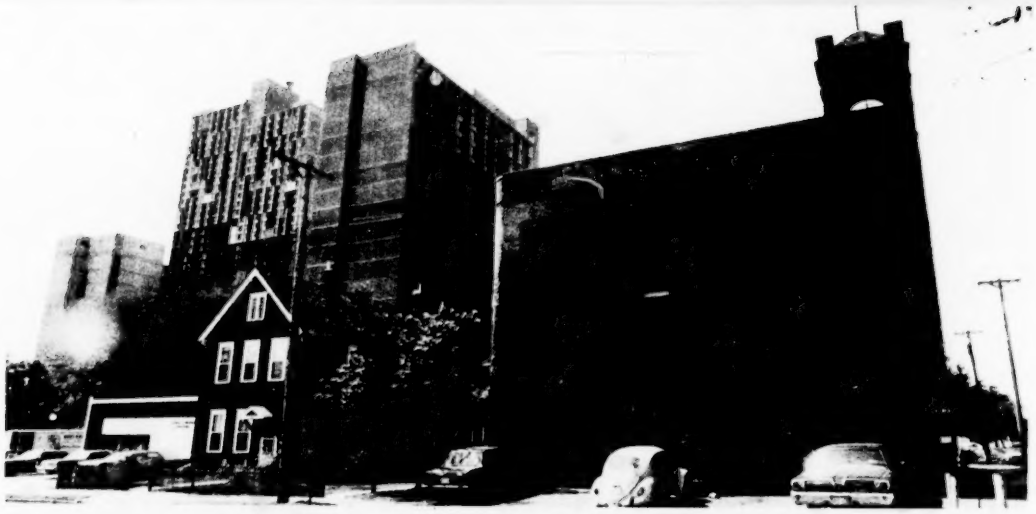
A stage extends diagonally across a narrow room to increase the performing area in a carriage house converted into the Newark Community Center of the Arts in New Jersey.

The Worm Barn Theater was built into an old barn in Jonathan, Minn. and a child care center tucked into the basement.

as an organic and growing process, then string quartets, art classes, dance studios and galleries will often start in the most unlikely places and eventually evolve to the point where more sophisticated facilities are needed. But before they can start they need a place, and even unlikely places can be very likely. Second, the arts are going through experimental developments that do not require traditional facilities, and, in fact, traditional facilities are often too precise and too restrictive.

And finally, the arts often spring from neighborhood and community groups with modest resources that can't afford specially designed and constructed facilities. And it's the small, local scale of arts endeavors that is clearly the major thrust of the arts movement in this country.

And what does this idea of nontraditional housing mean for new towns? It suggests, for instance, that any kind of existing structure can be considered as potential housing for the arts and that old buildings may become the wellsprings for involving art programs in



Cedar-Riverside's celebrated firehouse that now contains spaces for performing arts and community events.

Long Reach Village Center, Columbia.

A Jonathan farmhouse converted into a teen center includes craft shops in the basement.

emerging new towns. It also suggests that the arts are dynamic, changing and growing, and that as a new town develops, unlikely new places may be just right for some aspects of the arts.

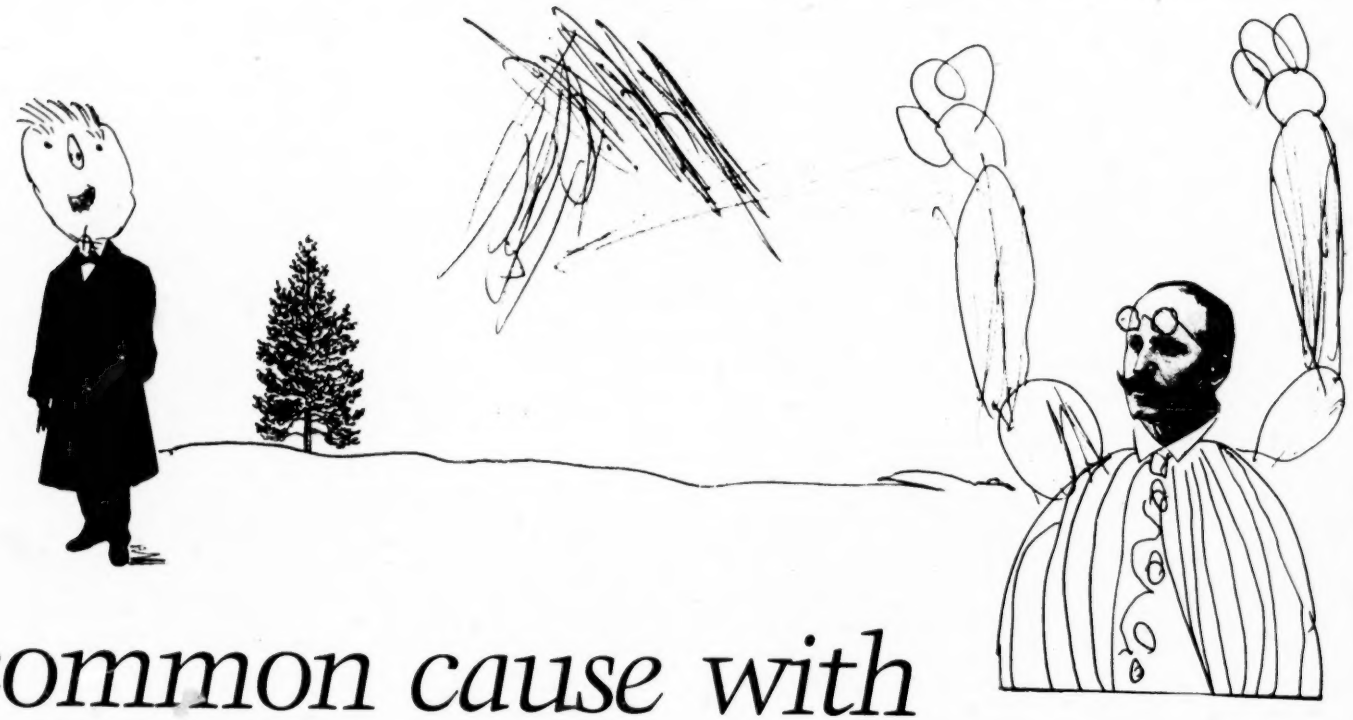
When funds are available for new facilities for arts programs in new towns the planners should survey as many residents as possible to find what types and sizes of arts programs will have to be accommodated. The programs that the new town inhabitants will want two years hence may not be the same as the planners want to provide for now.

Lake Anne Community Hall, Reston, Va.

Quonset huts and portables house studio and craft shops at Civic Arts in Walnut Creek, Calif.

MUSE, Brooklyn Children's Museum, in a former automobile showroom.

Billy Dalize
Ou sont Raynal
Dont les noms se mélancolisent
Comme des pas dans une église
Ou est Cremnitz qui s'engagea
Ou sont de souvenirs mon ame pleure sur ma peine
Le soir tombe O sanglante mer
Making
COLOS + nathalie



common cause with schools and colleges

One of the likeliest ways for a new town to foster the arts is to combine forces with nearby schools and colleges. In principle, at least, these institutions can provide what the arts in new towns need: program ideas for young and old, creative and administrative talent, audiences, appropriate spaces. This would also be consonant with the current unconventional wisdom on the school-as-community-center, and the community-as-campus. The principle stands. Practice is spotty.

One basic issue that has received only fleeting attention in new towns thus far is raising the status of the arts in education. The excessive concentration of the curriculum on the abstract, verbal, and factual speaks for itself; only small steps have been made to redress the balance, despite the testimony of wise men from Plato to Piaget on the capacity of the arts to develop man's senses, perceptions, emotions, and moral values.

If one mark of a new town is its willingness to take a new look at formal education, it would seem that new-town schools might be leaders in bringing the arts into a central role in the learning process, or at least in according them parity with the "subject-matter" core of the curriculum. So far there is little evidence of such progress. Again, the easy explanation is on hand: the towns discussed in this report (with the exception of Gananda) "reside within the boundaries of at least one and sometimes two or three existing local

school districts."* Even if the new community earnestly wants greater educational stress on the arts, it must act in concert with the clients of the existing district or districts.

The experience of Maumelle New Town, near Little Rock, Ark., is instructive. Here is an example of a new town that planned "for an educational system in which the arts would be central rather than peripheral." The new town paid for the basic proposals, and the county school district took an open-minded attitude toward the experiment. But financial and political problems have proved insurmountable so far, though they may still be solved given a little outside help and technical assistance.**

Among the new towns sampled for this report, there is scant evidence of any important bulwarking of the arts in education. Columbia, for instance, which is developing its school system through joint planning with the Howard County Board of Education, seems to be following a program in music, the visual arts, and theatre that a member of the recent arts seminars characterized as "timorously conventional—showing that pressures from the town for adequate programs had hardly been applied." Artists visit the schools on occasion, there's a Young Audiences program, children are bused from time to time into Baltimore and Washington museums. (The music supervisor, who needs teachers, does have some lively ideas including the use of tape music and electronic access.) Apparently there has been little concentrated attention to the arts needs of primary and preschool children, nor knowledge of the availability of such esthetic education packages as CEMREL.†

One striking lack stands out in new towns: the particular opportunity for youngsters to observe the architecture and design of their town as it rises around them and to take note of their special environment—a rural county erupting into a planned city—does not seem to be part of any coherent educational planning.

Sharing arts facilities with schools

Nominally, new-town arts groups can avail themselves of space in their schools. Like many tenets of new-town orthodoxy, this works out better on paper than in practice. By and large, the problems derive from the facts that school auditoriums or other multipurpose spaces are often poorly equipped for performances and are often unavailable when needed by outside performing groups (in most instances, there's no broker or referee to make the sharing work).

For example, Columbia's Wilde Lake High School has a theatre for community use, but it is in almost constant use by high school students and not really well-equipped for diverse performances. When Reston puts on a big show, it has access to the high school that its youngsters attend, in nearby Herndon. But human nature rears its irrational head: it seems that Restonites don't like going to Herndon High School for their enlightenment or fun; they'd sooner drive all the way into Washington or Baltimore. Jonathan

* Evans Clinchy, *op.cit.*

** *Ibid.*

† CEMREL, Inc., in St. Louis, is a national educational laboratory. The esthetic education program was devised as a curriculum resource for the elementary and intermediate grades with two purposes: to help children learn how to make esthetic decisions; and to show them the importance of such decisions in their day-to-day lives.

faces more or less the same set of problems (though new community schools in the area, in design and administrative philosophy, hold out hope).

The prospects for Gananda are brighter. The legislation that enabled the formation of a new school district with the same boundaries as the new community also empowered the Gananda School District to lease space and time in multi-use facilities constructed by the developer. The neighborhood center mentioned earlier will be the first of these multipurpose educational, recreational, commercial, social, civic, religious, health, and personal enrichment facilities. Of obvious importance to the arts is the fact that the school district can lease for itself part of any multipurpose complex for just the times it requires; the space will otherwise be available, free or for a nominal charge. It is expected that the center will be used simultaneously by adults and children during the day, under the guidance of arts teachers, artists, and assorted volunteers. To date, the school board has not worked out specific curriculum plans for the arts.

The hope in this town is to dig the arts deep throughout the community so that even if the school budget can't make it, the churches, civic groups, and adults generally will have a stake in nurturing participatory art.

Riverton also has done no specific curriculum planning as yet, but arts/crafts/theatre/music facilities will be available for both school children and adults.

Cedar-Riverside, at first, planned no schools; having only five families with school-age children in 1972, the community as it developed expected to bus children to nearby underpopulated schools in Minneapolis. At the same time they planned to make Cedar-Riverside's rich arts resources available to everyone in the city, especially the school children. Now, this general idea has been strengthened by the Minneapolis Board of Education's decision to alter school boundaries so that the area of Cedar-Riverside would become a common school-attendance-and-planning district with an experimental program known as the Southeast Alternatives—which offers five different kinds of education, from completely free to completely traditional. Several of the alternatives integrate arts into the curriculum and welcome artists into the schools.

The new project will provide a diversity of in-and-out-of-school education for all ages; it will use Cedar-Riverside's institutional and cultural advantages; and it will have access to a new-town center now under construction, but not, as had been hoped, to a vast adjacent warehouse (excessive renovation costs). Cedar-Riverside also hopes for the survival of the program called Urban Arts, a Title III Elementary and Secondary Education Act project just completing its third and final year of funding. Imperiled by revenue sharing and the competition of other hard-up programs, Urban Arts—which has caught up 600 young people in theatre, dance, orchestra, and other arts—has generated so much local enthusiasm that it just may survive on its own.

In trying to set up joint arts undertakings with the public schools, new towns can ride the crest of the movement to create community centers that make it possible for all kinds of enterprises, including schools, to share programs and spaces, and to bring together children and adults, certified teachers and uncertified artists and artisans. One of the first and undoubtedly best-known of these is the Whitmer Human Resources Center,

in Pontiac, Mich.* The Pontiac center has three basic spaces for the arts, which they share with a big elementary school. These spaces are: a theatre auditorium on the community level, and, on the school level, an electronic piano laboratory and an arts and crafts area. There are after-school arts programs for the elementary school pupils; early evening programs for older students; and day and evening classes for adults. Choices range from oil painting to motorcycle repair. Efforts are under way to get a community theatre started. Five or six dance groups use the center's facilities for instruction, practice, and performances. There are film programs Fridays and Saturdays. The building gets heavy use six days a week partly because it is located in the central city where most of the participants live. HRC's director hopes that eventually the budget will allow the center to expand its programs and stay open Sundays too.

All over the country there are variations of the Pontiac idea, most less elaborate, from a high school used by an opera company for rehearsals and performances to a former private academy which has been transformed into a community learning center.

Sharing arts facilities with colleges

To advance the arts through making common cause with a college or university (as contrasted with a school) has its drawbacks, but perhaps an even greater potential. From the limited experience to date, it would appear that it pays off for new-town arts if the collaborating institution is neither too big (say the University of Minnesota) nor too unpredictable (Antioch). Jonathan has found greater response from little Mankato State College (an hour's drive away) than from the giant university, and is working with Mankato on such joint ventures as artists-in-residence, workshops, and extension courses.

Cedar-Riverside is having a somewhat similar experience with, however, a more substantial prospect in view. Its development area includes the 65-acre West Bank Campus of the University of Minnesota. If the university has been less than generous or concerned with Cedar-Riverside and its lively but hard-pressed arts groups, the C-R people incline to the view that the sheer massiveness of the university would have made it an unlikely partner anyhow. They take an understanding attitude to the fact that the new town will have no access to the West Bank Campus's performing arts center, which will be in almost constant use by the university.

Much more to the point, Cedar-Riverside planners feel, are the negotiations under way with Augsburg College, a small Lutheran institution that is trying to break out of decades of cloistered localism. What Cedar-Riverside is hopeful will emerge are small performance buildings for use by the college and the new community.

The most fruitful way for a new town to join forces with a university could be to get in on the ground floor, new town growing with new university. This is Park Forest South's far from fortuitous situation. Lew Manilow made the winning bid (200 acres of land, worth about $1 million) to bring to his new town a highly unorthodox component

* For recent accounts of this center, see "The Greening of the High School," and "Community/Schools: Sharing the Space and the Action," available from EFL, 477 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10022.

of Illinois' public higher education system.

Governors State University has a "competency-based evaluation system," a calendar of six sessions each eight weeks in length, and a University Assembly governance system. It is a senior and master's level commuter institution, designed by the state to serve community college transfer students, paying particular attention to the needs of low-income and minority students. The campus is contiguous with Park Forest South's "main drag," (back to the linear is one PFS reverse innovation). The first permanent building, a megastructure, is expected to be ready by the close of 1973. Meantime, GSU, which opened two years early for classes in the fall of 1971, rents from PFS a sprawling warehouse in the town's industrial park. (Visitors, impressed by a university operating effectively in space as open as the most open elementary school, almost regret the move.)

Since GSU proclaims the arts as one of its central concerns and since the administration and faculty are enthusiastic about what they are doing and what Park Forest South could be, it would appear that a unique town-gown collaboration in the arts could be one outcome of the union. Though cutbacks in GSU funds along with increasing enrollment may preclude it, there is still the possibility that GSU may be able to share its performing arts spaces, as well as its presentations, with the townspeople—even as now the library and certain courses are open to all.

It is anything but clear, however, to what degree the swinging new university will advance the arts in Park Forest South. An outspoken professor, who is black, feels that the prime emphasis is on the "socio" of the institution's "socio-cultural" goals. Not for a minute does he denigrate GSU's commitment to "rescuing the ghetto kid" (average age, this year, 27), but he senses a disregard for the role art can play. "Community service," which the university stresses, should include giving concerts or putting on exhibitions, he thinks. On the other hand, GSU is a lively, protean place that, if nothing else, should counter the suburban anemia new towns risk. President William Engbretson himself is greatly interested in the fine and performing arts, and he feels that this confluence with Lew Manilow's own bent bodes well for the arts in Park Forest South.

Chapel and Cultural Center at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, Troy, N.Y.

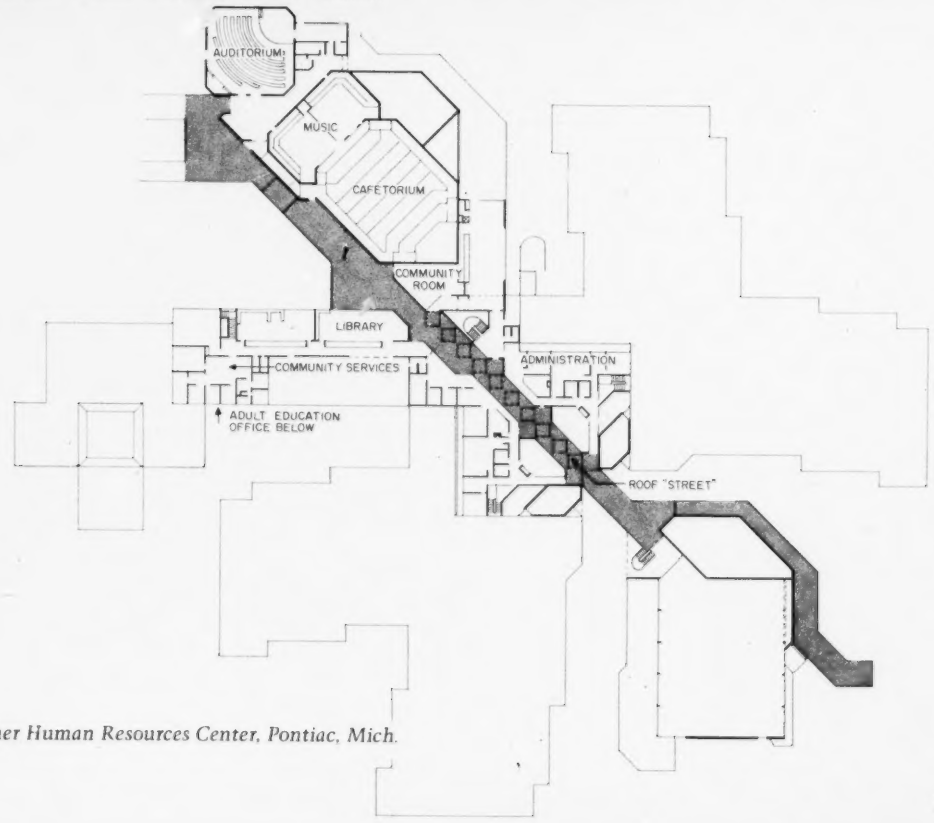
Cooperation between arts and education

The role of a schoolhouse in its community is changing. Instead of serving only children and young adults, schools are beginning to play a part in distributing other forms of social services to the communities that support them. There's a financial motivation for sharing these services and there's also an acknowledgment of responsibility to improve social services by making them more easily available to the public.

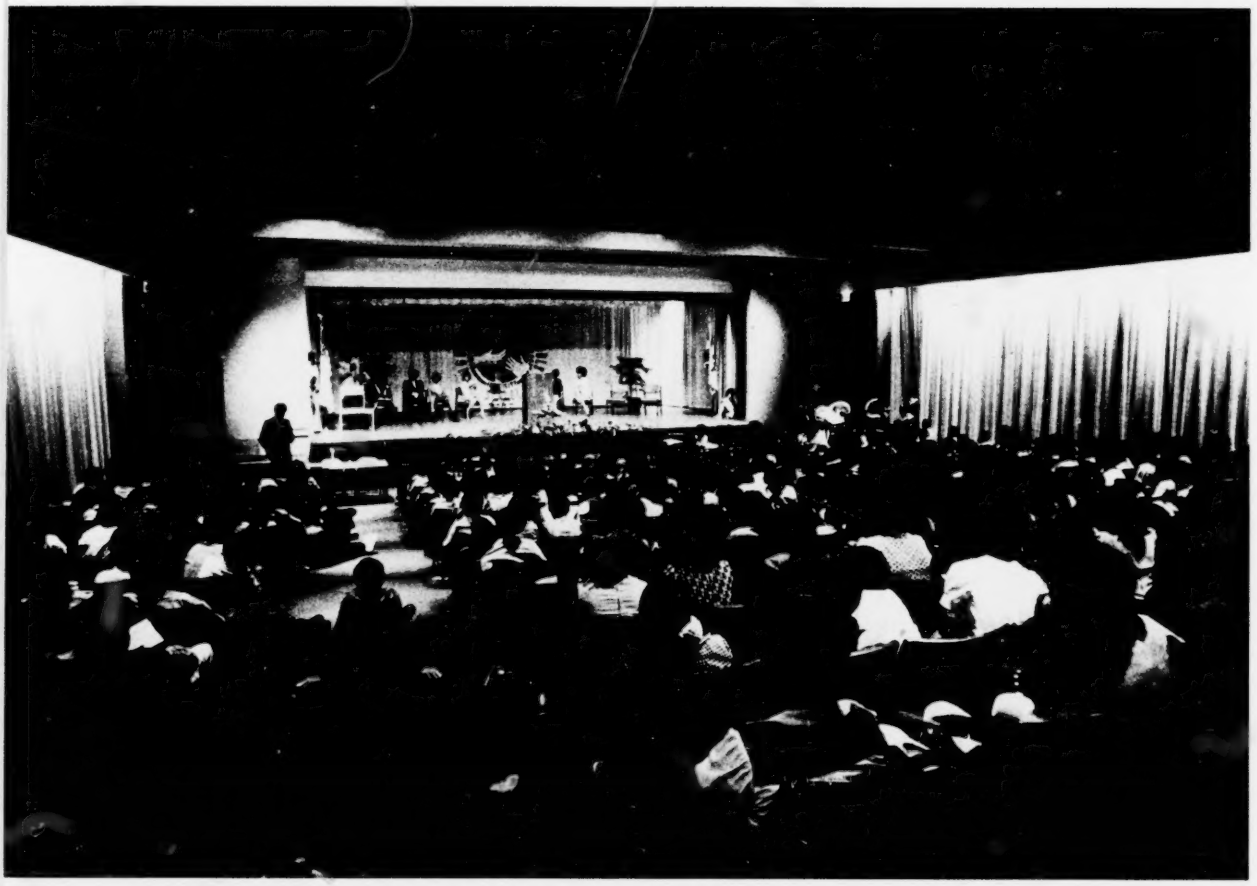
Thus schools and colleges are opening their doors to provide health services, recreation facilities, adult education and arts programs. New buildings housing multiple social services are jointly financed by the public agencies involved. These agencies also share the maintenance and operating costs of the facilities.

Naturally, multiple services can best be provided

Elementary school art room at the Whitmer Human Resources Center, Pontiac.



Plan of community level at the Whitmer Human Resources Center, Pontiac, Mich.



John F. Kennedy School and Community Center, Atlanta, Ga.

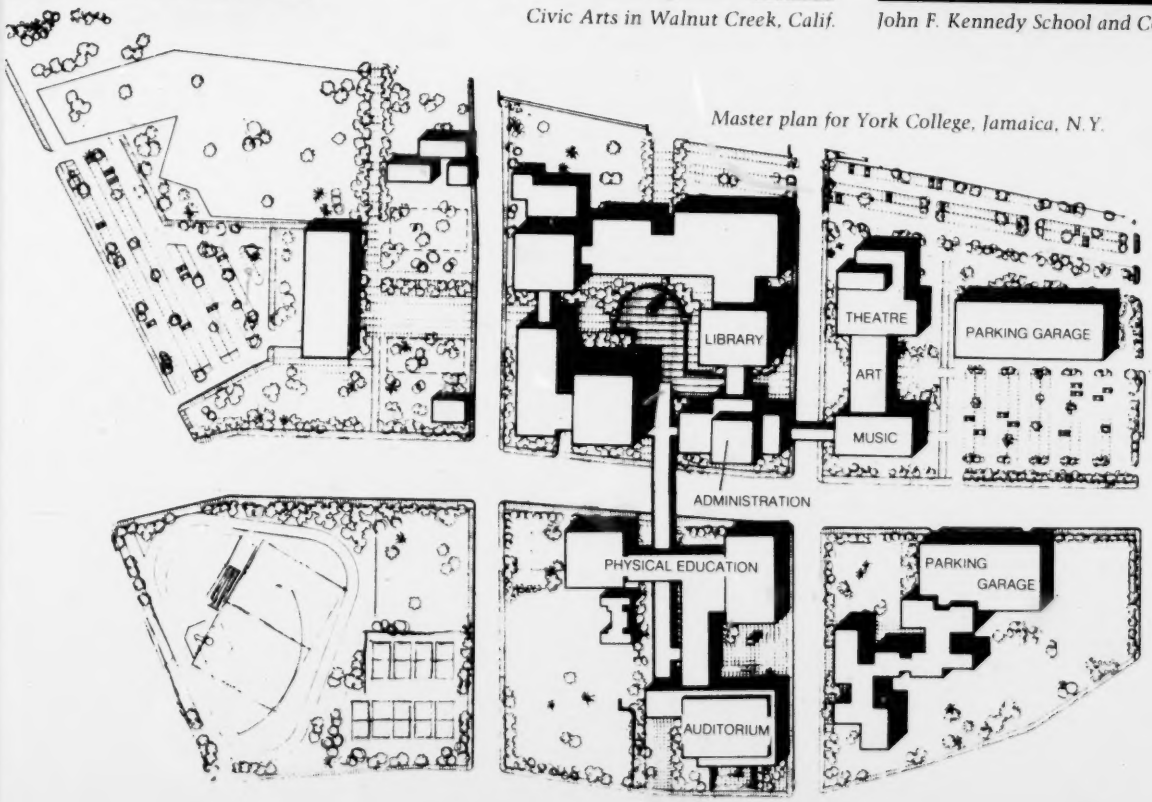
in buildings designed for the purpose, although existing schoolhouses can be converted for limited programs. Many school districts are interested in rehabilitating their schools and in doing so they often redeploy their facilities to include community services such as arts programs.

The foregoing developments are occurring at a time when there is evidence that the public's interest in the arts is increasing. There's also an increase in community-based arts programs and these groups look toward local institutions (including schools) for shelter and support. Such programs may cause a logistical problem for the schools but they offer a programmatic exchange that aids both parties because community arts programs strengthen the school curriculums and, in turn, the schools' arts programs can enhance the community arts programs.

When one of the new towns, Gananda, New York, was planning its community centers, the developers invited surrogate residents to help determine what

Civic Arts in Walnut Creek, Calif.

John F. Kennedy School and Community Center



Master plan for York College, Jamaica, N.Y.

Community Learning Center, Bradford, Vt.

Brookston Elementary School, Brookston, Ind.

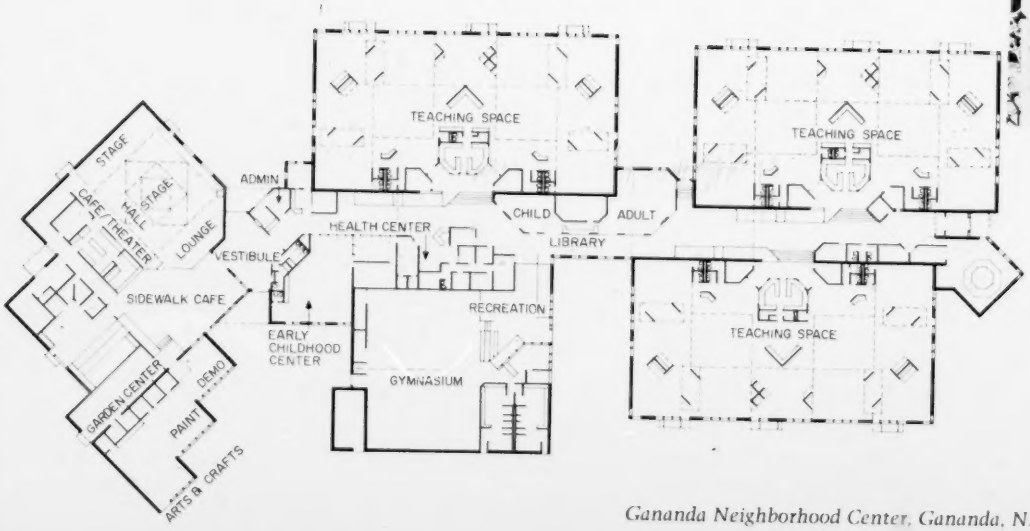
Howard Community College, Columbia, Md.

facilities were required. Two types of centers evolved; community centers that combine secondary education with large-scale formal community activities such as theaters and swimming pools, and neighborhood centers that combine elementary education with informal uses such as arts and crafts studios and shops.

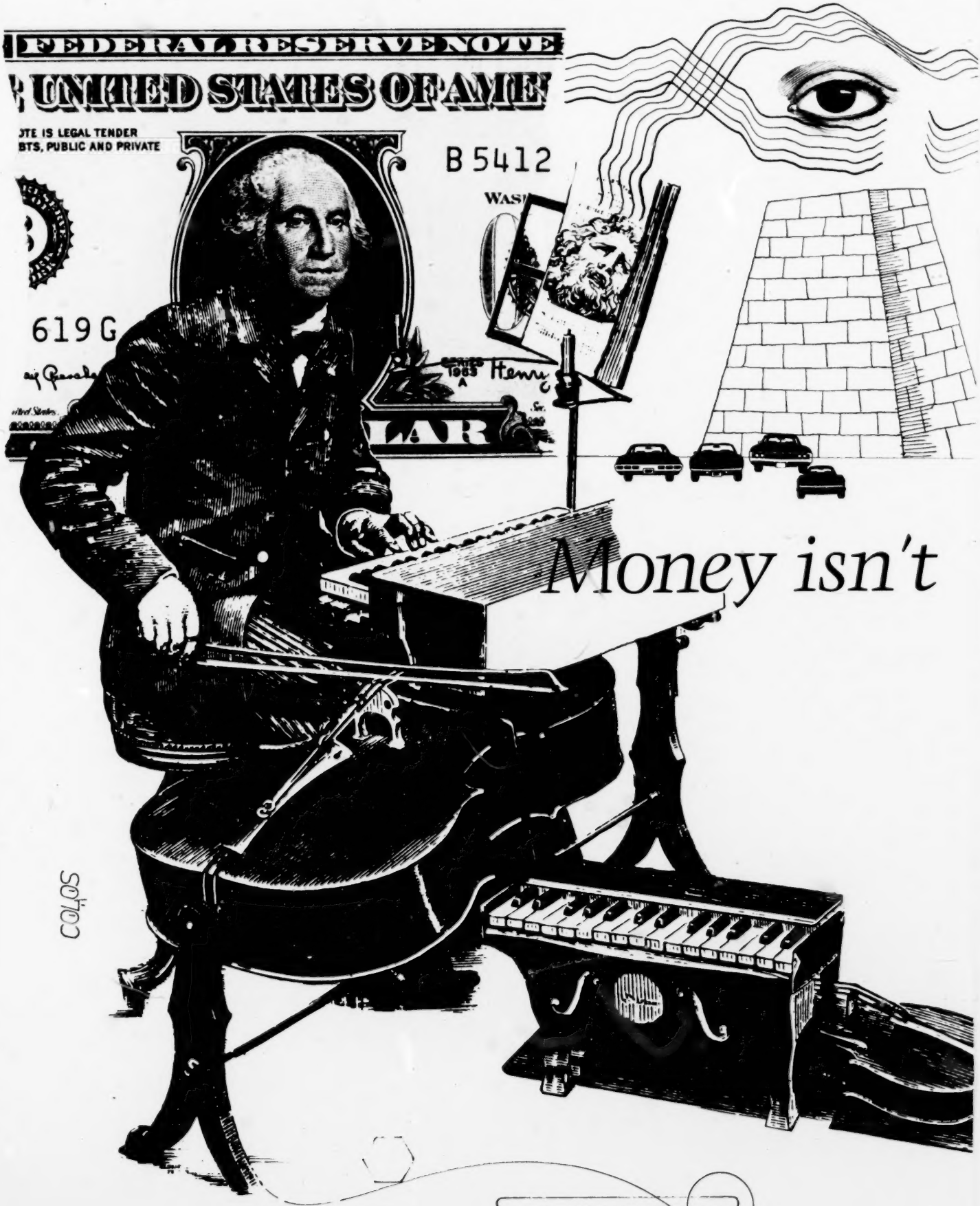
On a different scale, the City University of New York has planned its new York College with facilities for the public and the students. Everything from a bookstore to a theater and a fine arts building is to be accessible to the public.

An existing campus in upstate New York, Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, has combined a chapel and cultural center for the campus and the town communities. Religious services and related events have first call, but at other times students and townspeople use the center for performing arts, exhibits, films, social agency projects and conferences.

Public planning session for Gananda



Gananda Neighborhood Center, Gananda, N.Y.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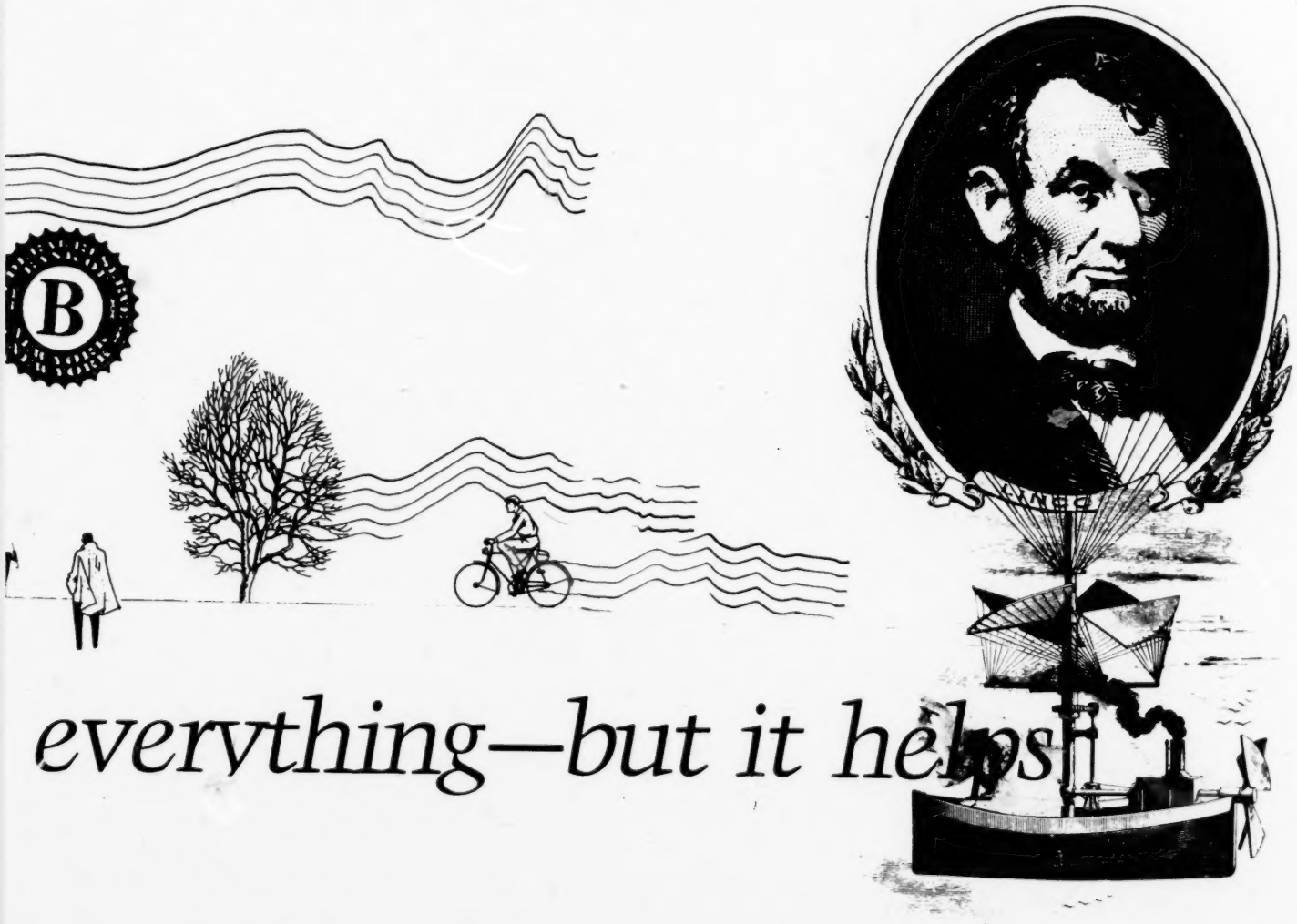


everything—but it helps

New-town developers, for the most part, interpret their obligation to help art in physical terms: the provision of space, new or rehabilitated. Some arts people are myopic about big-time financing, and, aware of the millions of dollars going into development, fail to appreciate small favors—such as getting highly desirable warehouse space for performances at under the going rental. Most arts people, however, would not dispute that space is the developer's greatest gift, though they would plead for a more generous provision.

In general, the developer funnels funds for the arts through whatever community organization he has seen fit to establish. As noted earlier, these organizations differ from one new town to another. But most are responsible for such public services as running buses and providing space for recreation and the arts. Most have boards of directors dominated by the developers' men, which often causes cries of "undemocratic." And most get their operating funds from assessments of the new-towners. (The mechanics of assessment can make an enormous difference in the amount of largesse available: for example, The Columbia Association assesses all residents and business enterprises, taking in over $1,250,000 in 1972; The Reston Home Owners Association assesses only residents and apartment-house owners—which means mostly Gulf-Reston—taking in about $750,000 the same year.)

In addition to space and provision of some funds, developers have an easily overlooked asset to offer arts groups—donated services. The availability of a developer's lawyers can be priceless to a group; a half-day of accountant's time is like gold. (Note Ann Payson's efforts to get Cedar-Riverside's groups to put their economic affairs in order. Generally, applications for government or foundation grants require vast amounts of past and projected fiscal information, and few arts people have the temperament, time, or knowledge to keep more than the simplest books.) Developers could also reasonably be asked to pay for a few days of a consultant's time—in fact, if a choice must be made, money is often better spent here than in contributions to the operating budget.

What are the major sources of support for new-town arts aside from the developer himself and the citizenry? Once convinced that the arts aren't going to sustain themselves, the enterprising developer can seek out foundations (especially local ones), the business community (especially his own), various state and federal agencies.

What about the federal government? Revenue sharing is, as yet, an imponderable. Monies cannot be used for education; they can legally be used for arts-as-recreation, but no one knows if localities will choose to do so. Title III funds are available for education projects but have a three-year limit. As for other federal programs, there are so many current threats to the legacies of the Great Society that it would be foolish to predicate support for the arts on the future of HEW or HUD—but one can always hope and try.*

State support? There are 50 different situations. Every state has an arts council—they all have funds (from a few thousand dollars to New York's incredible $15 million). Equally important—perhaps more so—they all offer some degree of expertise, advice, contacts.

A logical source of help appears to be the National Endowment for the Arts. Though NEA grants are usually small and in most cases must be matched, they can generate important initiatives: witness the two grants for arts advocate/planners. NEA also can offer advice and recommend consultants. And in this year of austerity for domestic programs, there are indications that NEA will have its appropriation increased over 1972.**

Cultivating the money tree

Wherever the new town gets arts money—a government agency (federal, state, or local), a private institution, foundation, corporation, or an individual—it is essential to create a suitable mechanism to handle it. This means an administrator, preferably with a small staff. Ideally the functioning of this mechanism would include helping to find, if not actually raise, funds along with such other important functions as help with facilities,

* Hitherto supplementary assistance to Title VII (much of it, in any event, never funded) was not applicable for "projects primarily involving the arts." But the Housing Act of 1972, if it ever passes in its present form, includes an amendment that would grant new communities supplementary aid "to foster American artistic creativity, to commission works of art, to provide workshops that will encourage and develop the appreciation and enjoyment of the arts by American citizens, and other similar projects."

** Since late 1970 the two federal agencies most concerned with new towns and with arts have been working together. HUD's Office of New Communities Development and NEA set in train a true "creative partnership." Out of this collaboration emerged the aid-to-the-arts amendment in the rewritten new-communities act.

management, and, in some cases, booking or programming. (Simon expects Riverton Community Programs, Inc., to fill this role. The Columbia consultants have proposed an idealized mechanism called Centrum. See box, page 25).

Community arts councils are the usual mechanism to serve these purposes. Effective community arts councils operate in many varying ways and with many immediate goals, as do state councils. New-town arts councils, some of which promise to be quite effective, are no exception. (See box.) Columbia has the Howard County Arts Council, which will be influential in determining what use to make of the recent recommendations by the Burgard group.

Michael Newton of Associated Councils of the Arts is convinced that the healthiest means for financing a local arts council on a permanent, secure basis is through a multiplicity of funding sources, including direct government subsidy, presumably from tax revenues. Walnut Creek's Civic Arts, cited earlier for other reasons, is a good variation in this category.

The more typical council depends for revenue on a combination of dues, contributions, fees for services rendered, ticket sales, grants for specific programs or purposes. On this base, though it lacks stability, it is possible to build an effective council. A few dozen councils—including some of the most effective—rely mainly on an organized annual united arts fund drive.

Some of these united arts fund drives consist solely of solicitation of local business, while others are aimed at the same kind of broad constituency as United Way campaigns

The local arts council: a populist voice for the arts

In 1972, John Hightower, president of Associated Councils of the Arts, described his vision of the community arts council in a background paper, "Community Arts," prepared for Flower Mound New Town in Texas. Mr. Hightower said:

"The significant feature of the arts council movement concerns the motivations which guide the policy and principles of these organizations. . . . Their interest is in the public for the arts, and their overriding concern is for the arts themselves —not the institutions that house them. As such, community arts councils throughout the country generally function as populist advocates for the arts, much less elitist than the established arts organizations which they must in some way serve. Along with state arts councils, community arts councils have made a fairly vigorous—even if spotty—contribution toward the democratization of the arts in the last decade.

" . . . In my opinion, the better ones are in some way hooked into the governmental fabric of either the county or the muncipality. They should receive some public funds, both administrative and programming, from the governmental entity that established them. They should also be eligible to receive tax-deductible contributions from individuals and other sources of private support. Their paid administrative staff should remain small but be capable of growing and receding constantly as specific projects come and go. Their function should be catalytic in terms of making things happen—seeing that activities are encouraged, providing a voice for the varied interests of the arts in government planning as well as bureaucratic decision-making, defending the space or logistical requirements of arts groups . . . offering a concerned point of view for aesthetic quality. . . .

"The council itself should consist of nine to eighteen people who have a humanistic concern for the arts but nevertheless broadly represent the community's social, racial, and economic range. The members of the council function as trustees of the organization."

Directories of state and community arts councils, including their programs, are available from ACA.

for health and welfare. Many are very successful and helpful to cultural organizations in the community. The danger sometimes seen by those who view community arts councils as supporting "arts as process" is that the council may abrogate its other potentials and become solely a fund-raising organization. An allied danger is that the Fine Arts Establishment may receive most of the collected funds with only a few crumbs tossed to the community and/or ghetto arts. Effective management and a truly representative board of directors can prevent this.

In general, Newton and others believe, those arts councils that play a forceful role in their communities act with the independence made possible by diversified support. They are not beholden solely to government, nor to business, nor to a small coterie of the culturally elite. Newton says that strong community arts councils usually have one or more of the following attributes: their financing is partly but never wholly governmental; they operate some kind of facility or on-going program—an arts center, for instance—which requires a strongly committed board of directors; they run a united fund drive.

There are other promising ideas floating around, and some promising mechanisms. A striking accomplishment is the financing of the Southwest Iowa Learning Resources Center, which is supported by tax funds from eight participating public school county districts. (See box.) Other approaches make use of local governmental powers—for example:

- ☐ The New York City zoning scheme called the Special Theatre District, in which extra rentable floor area is awarded if a theatre is included in a new office structure in the Broadway/Times Square area.

- ☐ Use of ear marked tax revenues. In San Francisco this device applies part of the hotel tax to the arts. (In June, 1973, the city announced that for the ensuing fiscal year cultural activities would receive more than $1.4 million out of the total of $2.6 million produced by the hotel tax.)

- ☐ Granting of liquor licenses to theatres, opera houses, etc., in cities such as Minneapolis, where this is now illegal.

ACA is undertaking a study of these and other ways the regulatory powers of government can be harnessed to attract the support of the private sector of the economy for the arts; it will look into actual practices and also into likely ideas not yet tried. The emphasis will be on ways to bring about collaboration between government and private enterprise on behalf of the arts that will not depend on special, or "designated," taxes. Once again, new towns could live up to their name if they reached out to adopt or initiate some of these ways of providing a more stable economy for the arts.

Making it when federal funds end: two approaches

Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act provided millions of dollars to start up all kinds of promising school projects, some in the arts. But a common complaint about Title III (and some foundation grants) is that once a project reaches the three-year limit on funding, it dies, leaving few traces on the school system. There have been exceptions, however, most based on foresighted planning.

The Red Oak story:
funding by local government

A notable solution was found by the Southwest Iowa Learning Resources Center, which has continued past Title III through a combination of local government and grant funding.

When it received federal monies in 1966, LRC rented space in downtown Red Oak, a town of 7,500. There it provided arts and science programs for children, teacher consultation, and night classes for adults seeking high school equivalency diplomas, on an annual budget of $242,000. When the funds expired, the center—which had planned for this inevitability—formed a nonprofit corporation; board members were the presidents of eight county boards of education plus LRC's director. From that day on, the counties have paid in $5.00 per student from tax funds and local school districts add $3.00 per student.

Once assured of continued funding, the center borrowed money to buy a larger building that was formerly a doctors' clinic. (They paid less interest on the five-year loan than they'd paid before for rent.) Between $40,000 and $50,000 went to remodel the building—planetarium/auditorium, mini-theatre, sound studio, darkrooms, printing and graphics department, media library.

Meantime, back in 1966, a teacher named Ron Curtis had developed a film library and study course. In 1968 and 1969, the American Film Institute designated the center as a model film-study site and provided funds for expansion. The program—Media Now—expanded to include all media, and in 1970 itself received Title III funding. According to Mr. Curtis, it is designed to help students evaluate the mass media, be less susceptible to their influence, and more appreciative of their esthetics and potential. The 18-week course comprises 50 exportable "activity packages." Early in 1973, a Title III consultant informed Media Now that it had rated "a perfect score of 100" from an evaluation team. A new grant made possible distribution of the program to 25 Iowa schools. Later the course began to be distributed nationally through Lawson and Williams, a foundation research firm.

The Center continues to expand, too. It is now installing cable TV studios. When they go on the air in 1974, they will be linked with six other rural communities by microwave and with nearby cities by regular cable.

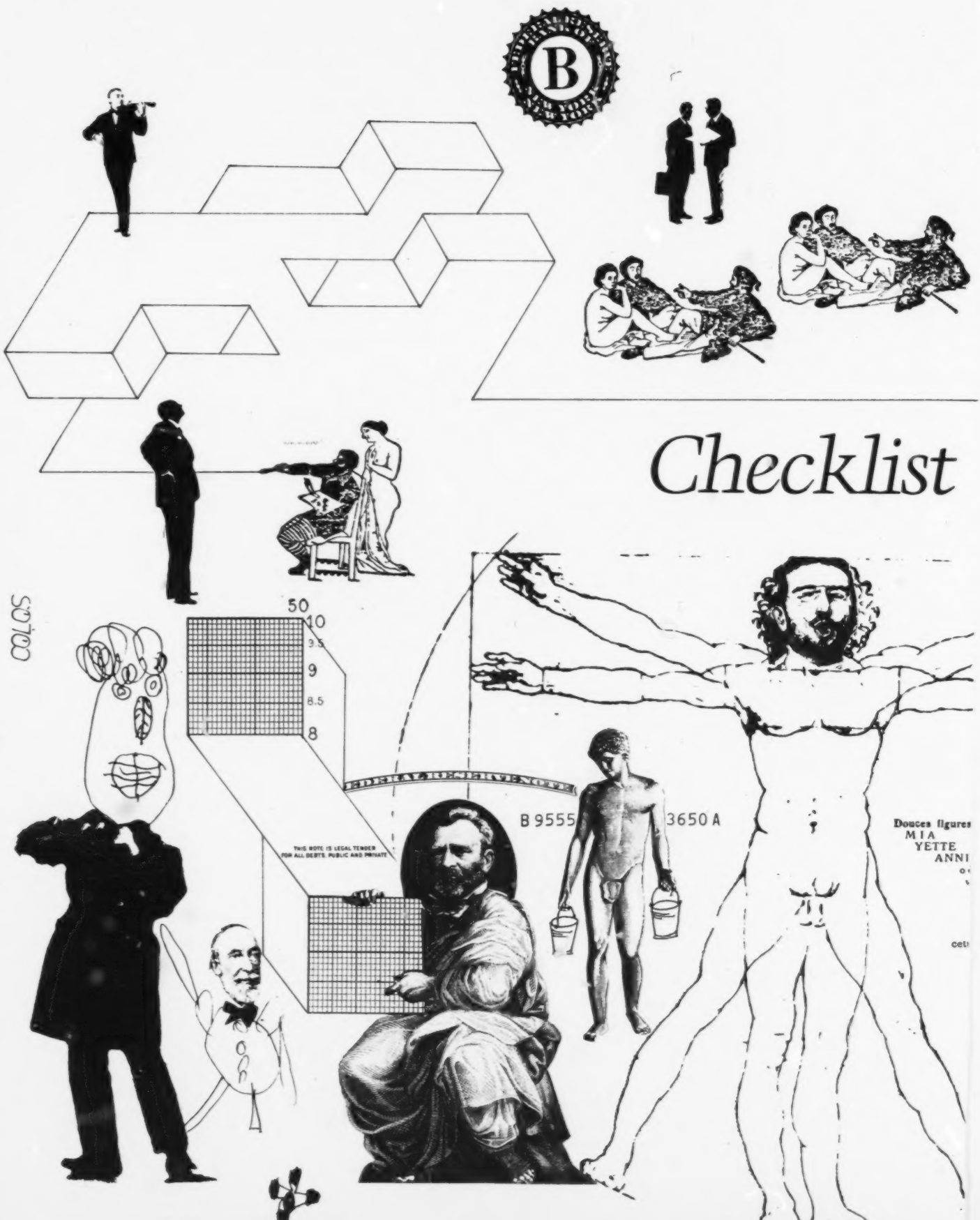
The Mount Airy story:
funding by an arts fund drive

Another exception to the unrenewable-grant problem is Mount Airy, in Surry County, N.C., where a county arts council was formed primarily to raise funds when Title III ran out.

From 1968 to 1971, Title III funds were used for a Fine Arts Project in the small city's schools. They bought much-needed arts equipment, hired teachers, and acquired an unused school building for a Fine Arts Center. The program generated great enthusiasm in and out of school. In 1969, the *Mount Airy Times* lauded the project for its role in "making a dent in the cultural vapidity into which we had let Mount Airy slide."

With this kind of reaction, the community prepared itself to take up the slack once Title III funds expired. The Surry Arts Council was formed a year or so before the deadline. Its mission embraces the Fine Arts Project in the city, programs for county schools and community arts, and booking talent. Often performers give master classes or demonstrations for local students. An important element, from the start of Title III funding to date, has been an extensive summer program for children.

The council has been able to finance the summer program through grants from local foundations and other donors, but the bulk of the arts council's money—augmented by the State Arts Council—comes from a regular fund drive, which (now in its fifth year) produces between $9,000 and $12,000 annually. As summed up by Donald Nance, the council's part-time director, the development of the arts in Mount Airy goes like this: "The [Title III] grant provided the impetus; the school provided the facility; the community has provided the continuing money; and the Arts Council provides the direction in which we are going. Without the impetus provided by the grant, Mount Airy would still be mediocre in its total art program."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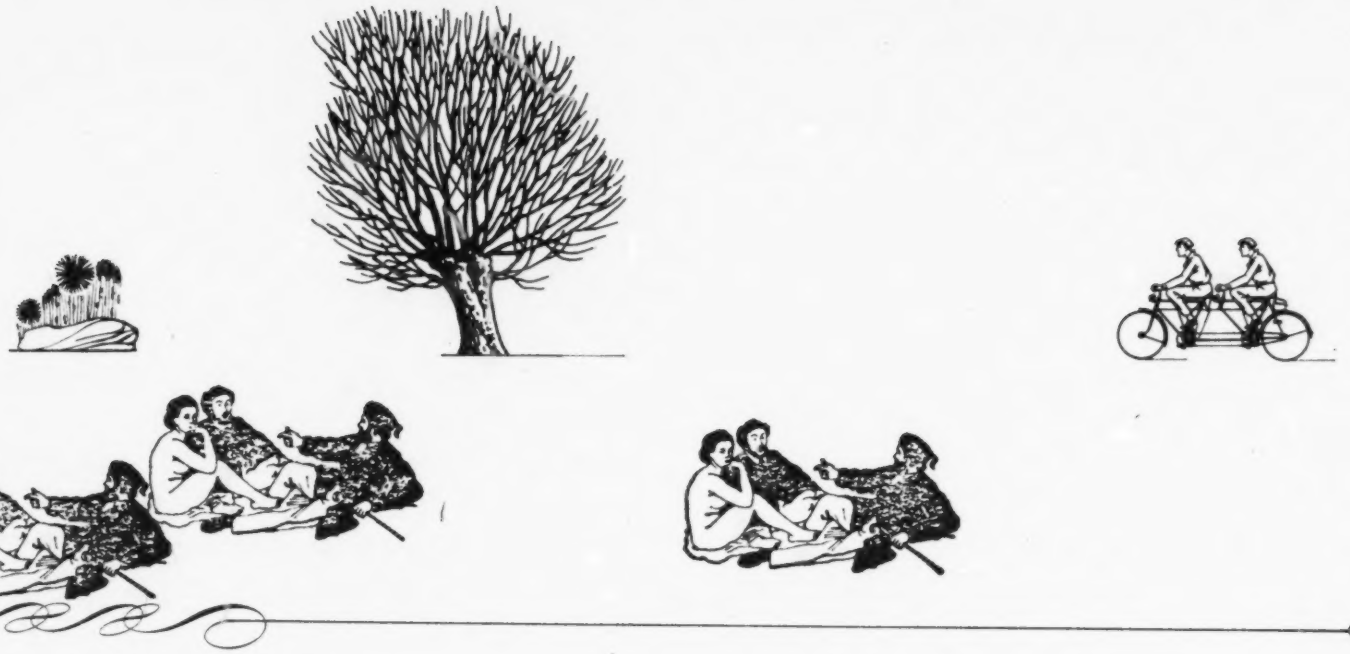

for new-town arts

There are not enough peopled new towns, U.S.A. 1973, to justify sweeping judgments on the status of new-town arts. Too much has to be premised on what an observer of this country describes as the U.S. weakness for "going-to's." Except for a few years of experience in Reston and Columbia, this report must depend on signs and portents, such as what the developers of Riverton, Gananda, and Jonathan claim they're going to do, if . . ., and such imponderables as who's going to be in charge year after next (managerial reorganization is endemic to new-towning). But granted these caveats, this sampling of new towns has suggested some things new towns can do to help the arts flourish:

- ☐ Accord the arts parity with education, health, recreation, child care, and other social services. Include them from the very start of the planning process, and apply the same incremental approach to their physical, programmatic, and financial requirements.

- ☐ Construe "the arts" in their broadest interpretation—count in film, TV (including closed-circuit and cable, most especially public-access channels), horticulture, interior design, woodworking . . . the list could go on and on. Don't set up a hierarchy of taste; rather recognize the validity of all and the fact that tastes change with growth and exposure to different modes of art.

- ☐ Bear in mind the role that the arts can and should play in formal education.
- ☐ Exploit the concept of school-as-community-center and stress programs that embrace adults as well as youngsters; see that children and parents and artists work side-by-side.
- ☐ Provide appropriate and truly flexible spaces for the various arts, at no cost or low cost, working toward this end with schools, colleges, and other community institutions and enterprises. Make imaginative use of found, add-on, multipurpose space. Let space be convenient, taking art where the action is.
- ☐ Face up to the economics of arts space—including maintenance, possible revenues, and needed subsidies. For tax protection, the developer should be prepared to deed the land to a nonprofit or public body.
- ☐ Offer the services of a lawyer or accountant, or pay for a few days of a consultant's time. Such contributions can often be more valuable to arts groups than money.
- ☐ Keep planning for the arts flexible enough so that it is possible to take advantage of unexpected opportunities and trends. Don't build in obstacles to promising new possibilities that may arise.
- ☐ From the start give the arts leadership within the developer's high command—a highly qualified person whose exclusive charge is the arts. Augment this by seeking out and supporting community leaders. Help establish an effective arts council, or some other mechanism that can act as broker for the whole spectrum of new-town arts, in such essentials as finding and sharing spaces, management, bookings, funding.
- ☐ Keep th[illegible]ns open for artistic experience as the town develops. In such planning the deve[illegible]d his staff may march ahead of popular demand but not so far ahead that they invite failures that may take years to erase. Encourage at first the participatory, avocational, or community arts, but do not rule out professional performances or exhibits. In importing programs, strive for a sustained series of events, rather than one-shot exposure. Foster the potential interplay between amateur and professional, casual and "serious" art in the life of the town.
- ☐ While planning, take into account the facilities and programs that may be available in the surrounding area. The new town is part of a region, and region and town can enrich each other. Join forces with local and nearby institutions, especially schools and colleges.
- ☐ Explore and follow up ways to attract professional artists to live in the new town. Possibilities include subsidized housing, working spaces particularly suited to artists' needs, and congenial ways of making a living—such as full-time or adjunct teaching, administering arts programs, becoming artists-in-residence.
- ☐ In supporting the arts, [illegible]k out new and promising funding sources. Try to bring local government [illegible] the school system), and business and industry into partnership. Seek all poten[illegible] federal and state assistance, and lobby for more.

Sources

New Towns

Cedar-Riverside
Mrs. Gloria M. Segal, Vice President
Cedar-Riverside Associates, Inc.
1929 South Fifth Street
Minneapolis, Minn. 55404

Columbia
Morton Hoppenfeld, Vice President
The Rouse Company
Columbia, Md. 21043

Flower Mound
Gary James
Community Services Staff
Flower Mound New Town, Ltd.
P.O. Box 31705
Dallas, Texas 75231

Gananda
Paul Brady, President
Gananda Development Corporation
109 South Union Street
Rochester, N.Y. 14607

Jamaica
Ward Minitz, Director
Jamaica Center Arts Project
Greater Jamaica Development Corporation
161-10 Jamaica Avenue
New York, N.Y. 11432

Jonathan
Julius Smith, Executive Vice President
Jonathan Development Corporation
Box 114
Chaska, Minn. 55318

Maumelle
Dowell Naylor, Executive Vice President
Maumelle Land Development, Inc.
National Investors Life Building, Suite 108
Little Rock, Ark. 72201

Park Forest South
Lewis Manilow, President
New Community Enterprises
759 Burr Oak Lane
Park Forest South, Ill. 60466

Reston
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60 Parkhurst Street
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Reports

Arts and the People: A Survey of Public Attitudes and Participation in the Arts and Culture in New York State.
Available from Cranford-Wood, Inc., 310 East 75th Street, New York, N.Y. 10021 ($5.00)

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Photo Sources

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316-320 West Main Street
Louisville, Ky. 40402

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Office of the Superintendent
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Springfield, Ill. 62701

Brookston Elementary School
Brookston, Ind. 47923

Chapel and Cultural Center
Rensselaer Newman Foundation
Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute
Troy, N.Y. 12181

Community Learning Center
Bradford, Vt. 05033

J. F. Kennedy School and Community Center
225 Chestnut Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30314

Maryland Institute College of Art
1300 West Mount Royal Avenue
Baltimore, Md. 21217

MUSE
Brooklyn Children's Museum
1530 Bedford Avenue
Brooklyn, N.Y. 11216

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186 Clinton Avenue
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